# French Intrigues;

Tho

OR, THE Howard

# HISTORY

OF THEIR

## Delusory Promises

SINCE THE

## *Pyrenæan* Treaty.

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Printed in *French* at *Cologne*, and now made *English*.

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*LONDON:*

Printed for *W. Henſman*, at the King's-Head in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; and *Tho. Fox*, at the White-Hart over againſt St. *Dunſtan's*-Church in *Fleetſtreet*, and at the Angel in *Weſtminſter-Hall*. 1685.

# HISTORY

OF THE

Delubry Family.

# The Publisher of the *French* Edition, to the Reader.

TWo things, courteous Reader, I have to tell thee: The one, that this Book was really made by a French-man, and so that they would be to blame who should attribute it to any Stranger, whose Inclinations are bias's against France. Hereof I was willing to advertise thee, to hinder thee from believing that Passion guided the Author's Pen. It was rather, as he protested to me, through a design to render himself knowing in the History of the Times, that he traced the Relations which I give to the Publick. The other thing I have to tell thee, and which I desire thee to take in good part, is, That I find my self indispensably obliged to declare unto my Country the Intrigues of her Neighbours, to make her change her Master, or at least to give her another Face, by depriving her of her Liberty. This appears so natural, that I believe none can think strange of my Enterprize. I will tell thee further, altho it be of no great importance

*tance to thee, that I have received what I here give thee from the Author's own hand, who made some abode in this Town, hoping to get himself advanced in the Troops, which his Electoral Highness is raising for the defence of the Empire: But seeing great Difficulties raised against him, as there are elsewhere against others, who would shelter themselves from the Storm, he grew weary of attending, and bidding me adieu, delivered me his Manuscript in exchange for some Books. I give it thee as I received it, without either adding or diminishing. Those that shall take the pains to read it, will see how the* French *neglect nothing to put themselves in credit in all the Courts in* Europe; *and that it is not* Holland *alone, which they endeavour to amuse by* Delusory Promises, *so to carry without any opposition, what remains for them to take in the* Low-Countries, *and perhaps to pass further, if they meet with no Obstacle.*

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# THE HISTORY OF Deluding Promiſes SINCE THE *Pyrenæan* Treaty.

IT is not unknown to any, that there have for a long time been two Powers in *Europe*, under the ſhelter of which the other States lived in repoſe and aſſurance. We know alſo that theſe two Powers are *France* and *Spain*, who likewiſe received ſuccour from the other States, to the end that theſe two Crowns might

continue as it were in an equal poize, ſo neceſſary for the good of all the reſt. Neither of them therefore was ſuffered to aggrandize it ſelf to the prejudice of the other: So that if *Spain* formed any Enterpriſe, all the neighbouring Princes preſently declared in favour of *France*; if alſo *France* would make any Conqueſts, the ſame Princes failed not to oppoſe it. And thus they diminiſhed the Power of that Crown, which began to be ſuſpected by them.

It was by this wiſe Policy, that the Affairs of *France* were re-eſtabliſhed after the taking of *Francis* the Firſt: For the King of *England*, who had an Army ready imbarqu'd to make a deſcent into that Kingdom, fill'd with deſolation and terror by the Captivity of its Monarch, was the firſt to propoſe a League againſt *Charles* the Fifth; and all the Princes of *Italy* entring thereinto, they obliged the Emperor to make a Peace, and releaſe his Priſoner, who had been carried from *Piſqueton* to *Madrid*, upon Conditions far leſs advantagious than

thoſe he had promiſed himſelf after his Victory.

By the ſame wiſe Policy it was, that the Princes of *Germany* ſuffered the *French* without any oppoſition to keep *Mets*, *Thoul*, and *Verdun*, which they had ſeized on by ſurprize: For altho they had reaſon to be very apprehenſive of this Nation, which is but too much addicted to uſurp upon its Neighbours, yet ſince it was at that time ſufficiently embaraſſed to defend it ſelf againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, they thought rather of making it their Support againſt that Houſe, which for a long time aſpired after an Univerſal Monarchy, than of fearing leſt it ſhould become one day ſo powerful, that it would it ſelf have a deſign to oppreſs them.

This Conduct laſted as long as the *Spaniards* were in a flouriſhing condition. Wherefore the ſame Princes, at leaſt a great part of them, ſaw alſo with pleaſure the Strength of *France* augmented by the taking of *Rochel*, which often ſerved no leſs for an Afylum to Male-contents, than

for a Rampart to those of the Reformed Religion. But since those of the Religion abused it, as we may say, by making it a Retreat for the Factious; GOD would punish them, to teach them another time, that Things Divine are not to be mix'd with Prophane. In the mean time the Mareschal de *Bassompiere*, who saw farther than many others, had a Saying witty enough thereupon: For being one day drinking jovially with some of his Friends, a time when Men ordinarily discover the greatest Secrets of their Heart, he told them very seriously, he believed they would be Fools enough to take *Rochel*: Which I impute not to any design he had of making an Insurrection, but to his Foresight, that the taking thereof would be of as ill consequence to the Neighbours of *France*, as it was fatal to those of the Reformed Religion. In effect we may say, that this was the first Step whereby the Kings of *France* mounted to that supreme Grandeur, which makes them at this day dreaded by all *Europe*. We may also say,

ſay, that the greateſt Fault which ever the *Hollanders* committed in their Politicks, was, that they did not at that time aſſiſt thoſe of their Communion, who might at this day do the like for them. But aſſuredly they conſidered it as a Rebellious Town, and believed not that it was lawful, according to the modern practice, to prefer ones Intereſt before whatever is moſt ſacred.

However it were, People being very far from believing that ever *France* could be ſo powerful, as to think of encroaching upon the Liberty of its Neighbours, they with delight beheld the Care that the Cardinal *de Richelieu* took to pull down the Crown of *Spain*; and they were even vext, that the Conſpiracies which were continually framed againſt him, and which every moment ſprang up afreſh, like the Heads of *Hydra*, often hindred him from ſucceeding in his Deſigns.

It was for the ſame reaſon that all the Princes, inſtead of oppoſing the ſecret Intrigues whereby this Miniſter

endeavoured to take the Crown of *Portugal* from the King of *Spain*, who had ſeized it from the Houſe of *Braganza*, were on the contrary very glad that this Affair went happily on. I have read in a very curious Manuſcript, that all the Princes of *Italy* furniſht him with Money for that purpoſe; and that the Affair being terminated according to their deſire, they could not forbear publickly teſtifying their Joy: Inſomuch that the King of *Spain* coming to know it, failed not to reproach them therewith. In the mean time the Succeſs ſhewed, that if this had in ſome ſort weakned the ſtrength of that Crown, yet had it not however brought them ſo low, but that it was ſtill capable to keep the Ballance which was ſo requiſit in *Europe*.

Men were ſtill confirmed in this Opinion, a long time after the King of *Spain* had loſt *Portugal*. For not to ſpeak of the War of *Flanders*, which he ſo long ſuſtained againſt the *Hollanders*, wherein, it muſt nevertheleſs be confeſſed, he gain'd no great advantage

vantage, altho he had the ſame time to do both with the *French* and the *Portugueze*, he ſo well defended himſelf againſt the one, and made ſuch great Conqueſts over the others, that if the *Engliſh* had not interpoſed, he would eaſily have brought them again under his Yoke.

This Equality between *France* and *Spain* continued till the Year 1656; except we will ſay, that *France* was much lower than *Spain* in the Years 1648, 1649, and ſo on to the Years 1652, 1653, when ſhe was within two Fingers breadth of her Ruine. For it was during the ſpace of theſe four Years, that there were ſeen to arrive ſo many extraordinary things, which Poſterity will with difficulty believe, eſpecially when the beginning of the Reign of *Lewis* the XIV. which was full of ſo great Deſolations, ſhall be compared with the following Years of the ſame Reign, which have been accompanied with ſo great Felicity and Power: For to comprehend all this in two words, it ſhall ſuffice me to ſay, that the King

was once in the beginning of his Reign reduced to have but two Pullets for his Dinner; and that now, to say nothing of his Table, which is such as befits so great a King, there is in every thing else so extraordinary a Magnificence and Profusion, that every one is obliged to acknowledg, that there is none but the King of *France* who can at this day do as he doth.

But not to stray too far from my Subject, I say then, that the Equality between the two Crowns subsisted till the Year 1656, at what time the *French* began to render themselves so redoubted in *Flanders*, that the other Potentates apprehended, that if the War should continue but five or six Years longer, *Spain* would in fine be subdued.

The Years 1657 and 1658 were yet more unfortunate to the *Spaniards*, who during that time saw themselves stript of their best Places: So that it began to be well known, that if they had any thing yet in *Flanders*, they were wholly obliged for it to the Civil Wars of *France*, which made her turn her

her Arms againſt her ſelf, inſtead of turning them againſt her Enemies. For in fine, it was eaſier for her at that time, than it is now, to accompliſh her Enterprizes, becauſe that no-body being yet perſuaded of her Puiſſance, they beheld her Attempts without taking Alarm thereat. It was believed alſo, that ſhe was obliged for the greateſt part of her Succeſs to the Alliance ſhe had made with *England*, who aſſiſted her with great Forces both by Sea and Land, whereat every one was ſo far from taking umbrage, that they were for ſome time very glad to ſee the humbling of a Nation, which had rendred it ſelf odious to all others by its vanity. For we ſee even at this day, altho *Spain* be reduced to ſo great a neceſſity that it is the Table-talk of all *Europe*, yet ſhe ceaſeth not ſtill to keep up the ſame Spirit, inſomuch that the Secretary of Mr. *de Fuen Maior* ſaid publickly not very long ſince at the *Hague*, That the French would think twice upon it before they entred into *Flanders*, becauſe they knew that

their Places were better fortified than ever they had been; adding a thousand other Rhodomantadoes, which I will not rehearse, because these sorts of things are of themselves so dull, that they rather nauseate than divert the Reader. In the mean time I will say here by the way, that when the *French* really entred into *Flanders*, and a Supputation was begun to be made of the Forces the *Spaniards* had to man their Places, and bring into the Field against them, they were found to have about sixteen thousand Men distributed into many Regiments, a great part of which you would rather take for Beggars than Souldiers. After this it may be judged how well-grounded their Bravadoes are, and whether so small a number of Forces is sufficient to keep above thirty Places, which are yet left them in the Low-Countries, and to oppose the *French*, who are already near forty thousand strong and who can encrease their Army as much as they shall think fit.

But ſetting aſide all theſe things, for to go on with what I have already begun, I ſhall ſay, That at the time when *France* might have promiſed her ſelf the Conqueſt of all *Flanders*, as I have already obſerved, ſhe ſet her ſelf to make Peace: Which I ſhall attribute to many things; in the firſt place, to the Jealouſy ſhe began to conceive of the *Engliſh*, with whom ſhe was to ſhare her Conqueſts.

For the *Engliſh* were to have *Dunkirk*, which is as it were the Key of *France*; and it did not ſuit with the French Intereſt, to deſire the Neighbourhood of a Power which had been ſo fatal to them. I ſhall in the ſecond place impute it to the deſire that Cardinal *Mazarine*, the firſt Miniſter of that Crown, had to paſs the remainder of his days in repoſe, and to give ſome reſt unto *France*, which ſtood in need thereof, after having been tormented, not only by ſo long a War, but alſo by an abundance of Edicts of this ſame Cardinal's Invention, who cared not how he ruined the People,

People, provided he might have wherewith to marry his Nieces advantagiously. It was, in the third place, to withdraw the King from the Love of one of his Nieces, who is at this day Madam *de Colonna:* For altho the Cardinal could have been very glad that the King had married her, yet durſt he not however attempt it, eſpecially ſeeing the Queen-Mother oppoſed it, and all *France* would beſides have riſen up againſt ſo unworthy and ſhameful an Alliance. In the mean time, ſince the Peace could not be ſo ſoon made, nor conſequently the King's Marriage, which was to be the Work of the Peace, the Cardinal married his Niece in *Italy*; and ſhe ſaid to the King, who wept when ſhe was upon the point of her departure, *You ſay you love me, I ſee you weep; you are King, and yet you let me go:* Meaning thereby, that if he had cordially loved her, there needed none but himſelf to hinder her journey.

The King was for ſome time diſcontented at his loſing of Madam *de Colonna*,

*Colonna*, and to get this Love out of his head, the Cardinal brought him to *Lions*, whither Madam Royal, who was the King's Aunt, came with her Daughter, whom they talk'd of marrying with his Majesty. When Madam Royal had saluted the King, the King repaid her Visit, and went to see Madamoiselle *de Savoy*, whom he found before her Looking-glass, as she was putting on her Hoods. She had exceeding fair Hair, and appeared to the King very handsom in this posture, insomuch that having seen her again afterwards, as he was susceptible enough of the Impressions of Beauty, he insensibly forgat Madam *de Colonna*, and began to love Madamoiselle *de Savoy*.

In the mean time the *Spaniards*, knowing that the Alliance with *Savoy* might be soon clapt up, if they did not speedily take care to prevent it; and that this might perhaps prove an Obstacle to the Peace, which they desired at least as much as Cardinal *Mazarine* could do: they dispatch'd away *Pimentel* to *Lions*, who arrived there

there *incognito*, and was even a long time there, without any Bodies knowing it except the Cardinal, to whom he cauſed it to be told, that he was come to conſult about the Marriage with the Infanta of *Spain*, which had a long time before been propoſed on the part of *France*, but whereunto *Spain* would not at that time hearken, foreſeeing well, as it has ſince happened, that inſtead of concluding thereby a ſure and durable Peace, it would one day prove a Subject of new Differences between the two Crowns. The Cardinal knowing his Arrival, ſent Mr. *de Lionne* to him, for to confer with him about the Propoſitions he had to make. And theſe two inferior Miniſters having ſquared out a Treaty, the King had the civility to acquaint Madamoiſelle *de Savoy* with what paſſed, ſincerely confeſſing to her, that he ſhould be obliged for the good of Peace to renounce the hopes of enjoying her, wherewith he had flattered himſelf, but in the mean time giving her his Word, that in caſe the Treaty were not concluded,

ded, he would never marry any but her.

This Promiſe in ſome meaſure conſolated Madamoiſelle *de Savoy*, who was in the higheſt meaſure afflicted at the coming of *Pimentel*. But whilſt ſhe was perhaps making vows for the breaking off the Treaty, Heaven diſpoſed otherwiſe in the matter: For Cardinal *Mazarine* and *Don Louis de Haro*, meeting in the Iſle of *Bidaſſoa*, otherwiſe called the *Iſle of Pheaſants*, concerted between them the things whereon *de Lionne* and *Pimentel* could not agree. After which the Mareſchal *de Grammont* was ſent into *Spain*, in quality of Embaſſador Extraordinary, to eſpouſe the Infanta by Proxy.

This Ambaſſy was very ſuperb; but it had this in it particular, that the Mareſchal *de Grammont*, who was a Man of Wit, determined to ride Poſt into *Spain*, with a number of great Lords, imagining that this would very well become the Ambaſſador of a young amorous Prince. The King of *Spain* knowing his reſolution to arrive

arrive in this Equipage, ſent the Count *de Taxis*, Poſtmaſter-General of the Kingdom, to meet him, who furniſhed him with Poſt-Horſes for himſelf and all his Train, which was compoſed of fifty Gentlemen of Note, beſides ſome other Perſons of meaner rank. The King of *Spain* defrayed all his Expences upon the way, where there was as much honour done him, as if he had been the King of *France* himſelf. And after he had received, as he paſt through *Burgos*, the Diverſiſement of the Combat of Bulls, he arrived in the Evening at *Madrid*, where they were forced to light Flambeaus to ſee him make his Entry, which made his Train, that was very magnificent, to appear with the greater luſtre.

The King of *Spain* ſent to receive him at his entrance into the Palace, by one of the beſt qualified Perſons of his Court. Another came to meet him at the foot of the Stairs, and a third at the door of the Guard-Chamber. They were all accompanied by the greateſt Lords of *Spain*, who

who being all reaſſembled in the Guard-Chamber, conducted him in the midſt of them to his Audience with the King, who expected him under a Canopy embroidered with Gold, having about him all the Grandees of *Spain*, who had ſpared no Coſt to appear in all their Magnificence to the Eyes of the *French*.

As ſoon as the King ſaw the Mareſchal *de Grammont* come in, he went forward three ſteps to meet him, teſtifying the Joy he received by his Journey, and asking him about the welfare of the King, and the Queen-Mother, who was his own Siſter. The Mareſchal *de Grammont* having thanked the King for his Civility, declared to him the Subject of his Ambaſſy; after which he went to the Queen, to whom having made his Complement, he gave to the Infanta, who was by her ſide under the ſame Canopy, a Letter from the King his Maſter; after which he diſcourſed her always uncovered, to ſhew that he began to ſpeak to his Queen.

This

This Ceremony being finiſhed, the King of *Spain* reſolved to be himſelf the Conductor of his Daughter; and after he had aſſured the Mareſchal de *Grammont*, that he would be within a little while upon the Frontiers, the Mareſchal took leave of him, and came to give his Maſter an account of what he had done in *Spain*. Some days after the King of *Spain* arrived with the Infanta, and the two Kings having ſeen and embraced one another, the Infanta was put into the hands of the King of *France*, to whom ſhe had been already married in *Spain* by Proxy.

This Alliance made all *Europe* enjoy a profound Tranquillity for the ſpace of ſix or ſeven years, except the Republick of *Venice*, which was at Wars with the *Turk*, as was alſo the Emperor. The King of *France* aſſiſted both the one and the other, which gave a great deal of Reputation to his Arms: For the *French* being in the preſence of the *Turks* when they attempted to paſs the *Raab*, ſo vigorouſly repulſed them, that, although

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they were ſeconded by the Imperialiſts, they failed not to carry away the principal Glory of that Journey.

There aroſe alſo ſome little Troubles in Chriſtendom, as well between the *Engliſh* and the *United Provinces*, as alſo between that Republick and *Bernard-Galen*, Biſhop of *Munſter*. But *France* demeaned her ſelf ſo in theſe two Rencounters, as if ſhe had been more deſirous to pacify all theſe Differences, than to excite them: For altho ſhe took part in the War ſometimes with the one, ſometimes with the other, yet ſhe compoſed her ſelf in ſuch a manner, that it could not be ſaid, that what ſhe did was with a deſign of profiting by theſe Diſorders.

Hitherto there was not any appearance of her Ambition or Inſincerity, except you will ſay that ſhe ſufficiently manifeſted it by her under-hand aſſiſting of *Portugal*, to the prejudice of what ſhe had ſo ſolemnly promiſed by the *Pyrenean* Treaty. In the mean time it being againſt the Intereſt of all

all *Europe*, that the *Spaniards* should make themselves Masters of that Kingdom, there were enough found who excused her Proceeding, whether they indeed believed that this was permitted by the Laws of Policy, or whether their own Interest made them believe so.

The first Spark that appeared of her Ambition, which is at this day ready to consume all *Europe*, was in the year 1667, when without regarding either the Faith of Treaties, or the Obligations of Blood, she set her self to deprive the King of *Spain*, who was yet in a full Minority, of his Provinces of the *Low-Countries*. Nevertheless since she durst not undertake the War, without having at least a Pretext for so doing, she spread abroad a Manifesto, as well in the *Low-Countries*, as in the neighbouring States, whereby it was endeavoured to be insinuated, that the Queen of *France*, who had by the *Pyrenean* Treaty been made to renounce whatever she could pretend unto, as well in the Successions fallen, as in those that

that might fall, could not validly make any such Renunciation, nor yet the King for her, since she was not only under age, but what she did was in complacency to the King her Father, who had forced her thereunto. As to the King, it was also asserted, That he was not at all obliged by whatever Renunciation he had made, because by the Laws of the Realm the Kings could do nothing without the consent of the Parliament of *Paris*, who had refused to verify the *Pyrenæan* Treaty, seeing it so disadvantagious to the Dauphin, who ought one day to be Heir to the Queen his Mother. From all these reasons it was inferred, That the King might lawfully carry his Arms into *Flanders*, unless *Spain* did him justice upon his Pretensions, which extended over all *Brabant*, and the best Places of the other Provinces of the *Low-Countries*. And this was founded upon an ancient Custom there was in those Places, whence all these Pretensions arose, by which a Daughter of a first Venter excludes

cludes even the Sons of a ſecond.

This *Manifeſto* was no ſooner publiſhed, being compoſed by a learned Advocate of *Paris*, but it made ſome impreſſion upon the Minds of the People, and principally of the *Flemings*, who altho they loved not the *French*, had yet rather fall under their Dominion, than ſee themſelves daily expoſed to their Arms. The Baron *d' Iſola*, who bore a very great affection to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, by which he was employed in important Negotiations, took at the ſame time Pen in hand, to diſabuſe the People, knowing that a longer Prevention was capable to produce bad Effects. Having in fine compoſed a little Book in anſwer to the Pariſian Advocate, the Intereſt of *Spain* was therein ſo well maintain'd, that if that Crown had had Souldiers, who would have defended her as gallantly with the Sword, as the Baron *d' Iſola* had done with the Pen, ſhe might have laugh'd at all her Enemies.

In the mean time, ſince it was not by the point of the Pen, but of the Sword

Sword, that this Quarrel was to be determined, the King of *France* entred into *Flanders*, at the head of a flouriſhing Army, being followed by the Queen in this Journey, becauſe he believed, that ſhe being of the Blood of the legitimate Sovereigns of theſe Provinces, the People would therefore ſhew the leſs averſion for the *French*. He took at firſt *Charleroy*, which made no great reſiſtance, the Place not being yet above half-built. Then entring into the Heart of the Country, he poſſeſt himſelf of *Tournay*, *Ats*, *Courtray*, *Oudenarde*, and ſome other Places of leſs importance. The Mareſchal *d' Aumont*, who commanded a Flying Army on the ſide of the Maritime Towns of *Flanders*, ſeized alſo of ſome ſtrong Places; after which the King laid Siege to *L'Iſle*, which is the chief Town of his *Gallican Flanders*.

The *Spaniards* vvere already ſo weak, that their Places had not above half the Garriſons that were neceſſary for their Defence. As for *L'Iſle*, they had made a little better proviſi-

on,

on, and the Conſervation thereof being of great conſequence to them, they drew out ſome Garriſons from the moſt remote Places, and ſuch as they thought ſecure, whereof they formed a ſmall Army, vvith vvhich they reſolved to ſuccour this Town. The King knowing that they vvere in the Field, ſent to the Marqueſs *de Crequi*, vvho commanded four or five thouſand Horſe on the ſide of *Ardenna*, to come to him without delay. The Marqueſs *de Crequi* having received ſuch preſſing Orders, marched day and night to obey them; and having but a ſmall Body, and that all Horſe, which is not ſo embaraſſing as a great Army, that draws after it abundance of Luggage, made ſuch ſpeed, that he arrived at the King's Army three days after he had received his Orders.

The King, who ſpared nothing in Spies, having learnt that the Count *de Marſin* alſo on his ſide advanced at the Head of the *Spaniſh* Troops, detached the Marqueſs de *Crequi* with a Body of Horſe and Foot, to go and

ſeize

ſeize upon a certain Paſſage; the gallanteſt Men about the Court deſired to make part of this Detachment, believing that there would be playing at Sharps: But the King reſtraining their Ardor, obliged them to ſtay at the Siege, which he proſecuted in the mean time without giving any relaxation to the Enemy. *Marſin*, who had at firſt made great Marches, knowing that the Marqueſs *de Crequi* had poſſeſt himſelf of the only Paſſage by which he could ſuccour *L'Iſle*, found his Courage cool ſo much the more, as the Poſt was advantagious to the Enemy, whom he could not undertake to force thence, without putting himſelf and his Army in moſt evident danger: He continued however to go on, and being arrived within three quarters of a League of the Marqueſs *de Crequi*, he pitch'd his Camp in a Place ſtrongly ſeated, but which yet not ſeeming to him ſtrong enough, he fortified by good Retrenchments. But ſcarce had his Souldiers put their hands to the work, when the King, who had made him-

ſelf Maſter of *L'Iſle* by Compoſition, drew his Troops through the midſt of the Town, which much ſhortned their way, and putting himſelf at their head, he took, as he went, the Marqueſs *de Crequi* along with him, and went to attack the Enemy, who on his ſide prepared to give him a good reception. *Marſin*, who was a Man of Wat, believing at firſt that he had to do only with the Troops of the Marqueſs *de Crequi*, bravely received the firſt Troops, which advanced to force his Retrenchments; but when he heard the Drums of the Musketeers, whoſe March he knew, and ſaw beſides the Troops of the King's Houſhold, who were to be known by the Gold upon their Cloaths, which the other Troops had not, cauſed the Retreat to be ſounded, and endeavoured to make it with the leaſt confuſion poſſible. But the *French* breaking into his Retrenchments ſo much the more eaſily, in that there was none to guard them, fell upon his Rear, which they put in great diſorder. *Marſin* ran ſpeedily thither

thither, and as he equally performed the Duty of a Captain and a Souldier, sometimes giving Orders, and sometimes fighting in person, when he saw himself press'd, he wanted but little of falling into the Enemies hands by the fault of his Horse, who rearing up an end, threw him to the ground. In fine, the *Spaniards* were wholly discomfited, and there were five or six hundred kill'd upon the place, two hundred that died of their Wounds, and three or four hundred that were taken Prisoners. There were presented to the King six Colours, and two Standards, that had been taken in the Fight, and the King rewarded those that presented them.

*Marsin* being defeated, the King marched against the Town of *Alost*, which altho it were of no great Defence, yet caused the Enemy some Loss. In effect, the *French*, puff'd up with the taking of *L'Isle*, and the Success of the Battel they had given the *Spaniards*, presented themselves in full day within Musket-shot of the

Town; but before they got themſelves any ſhelter, they had a great many Men killed, without reckoning the Wounded, which were alſo in no ſmall number. The Trenches being opened, and the Batteries raiſed, which began to thunder upon the Town, it yielded to the King, who put a Garriſon in it, which he might have done at the beginning of the Campaign without the loſs of a Man, for he had found this Place abandoned, but he believed it not to be of ſo great conſequence as it was, which is now but too well known, ſince it is at this day the Subject of the War wherewith we are menaced, not to ſay the Pretext. After the taking of *Aloſt*, the King retired to *Arras*, where the Queen attended him, and from thence ſet forth for *St. Germain en laye*, which was the Place where he made his Abode.

The happy Succeſs which the King had during this Campaign, joined with the pitiful condition wherein the *Spaniards* were, who could not bring ten thouſand Men together, made

the

the neighbouring Princes think it their Intereſt to oppoſe in time *France*'s aggrandizing her ſelf any more. Thus carried on by the ſame Spirit, which had made them ſo often take the part of *France* againſt the *Spaniards*, they took then the part of the *Spaniards* againſt *France*. The King of *England*, the King of *Sueden*, and the *Hollanders* made an Alliance together, called the Triple-League, whereby they united themſelves not to kindle the Fire, which already burnt but too fiercely, but to endeavour to quench it; and in caſe either of the two Crowns ſhould obſtinately perſiſt in the War, it was ſtipulated that they ſhould declare themſelves againſt it; which Clauſe was expreſly put in, not to irritate *France* by teſtifying that this Treaty was directly concluded only to oppoſe her Ambition. But *France*, who knew what to think of it, was ſo incenſed thereby, and particularly againſt the *Hollanders*, whom ſhe accuſed to have procured this League to be ſigned by the others, that ſhe reſolved in time and place to

be revenged thereof. In the mean time, not being ſtrong enough to reſiſt alone theſe three Potentates, ſhe was obliged to promiſe, that ſhe would lay down her Arms, if *Spain* would on her ſide conſent that ſhe ſhould continue in the poſſeſſion of her new Conqueſts, *Aloſt* being excepted, which ſhe offered to reſtore. The *Spaniards* would not at firſt hear ſpeak of this Treaty, and were reſolved not to permit that the Right of Convenience ſhould be eſtabliſhed thus at their prejudice. But two things made them ſoon change their Reſolution: The one, that whilſt they were amuſed in talking of an Accommodation, *France* had all on a ſudden ſeized upon *Franche Comté*. The other, that one of the three States began, as they ſay, to waver when it came to the point, having been gained by the Money of *France*, whereof it was more ſenſible, than of its own true Intereſts. The Miniſters of *Holland*, who were employed in this Treaty, know whether I impoſe any thing contrary to truth, and

and I know that it was they who firſt began to perceive ſo ſhameful a Commerce. The *Spaniards* therefore conſented that the King ſhould keep all the Places he had taken, except *Franche Comté*, and the County of *Aloſt*, which he had already promiſed to reſtore unto them.

It is beſides to be underſtood, that *Franche Comté* had been conquered in eight days; but that which rendred this Conqueſt ſo eaſy is, that *France* had gained the Governour, who after he had made this fine Bargain with her, retired to *Paris*. But as the Treaſon is much better loved than the Traitors, I believe they kept but a part of their Promiſe vvith him, at leaſt I have been told as much by one that pretended to know it. In the mean time, thoſe that were employed to bring the *Spaniards* to conſent to the Treaty, as it had been propoſed before the taking of *Franche Comté*, let *France* know, that the concluding the Peace depended only on her. *France* ſtuck at the parting with ſo fair a Province, but it being

neceſſary either to do it, or to reſolve upon War, ſhe choſe that part that ſeemed to her moſt for her adadvantage, which was to give up this new Conqueſt, together with the County of *Aloſt*, according as ſhe had agreed to do. Thus by the Entremiſe of the Triple-League was Peace reſtored to *Europe*.

But before I paſs any further, I muſt acquaint thee with ſo unworthy an Action then done by the *French*, that Poſterity will ſcarce believe it, nor ſhould I my ſelf have believed it, had I not ſeen it with my own eyes. It was accorded by an Article of the Treaty, That whatever ſhould on the day of the Ratification of the Peace be found upon the Lands of *France*, ſhould appertain unto her; and that whatever in like manner ſhould be found upon the Lands of *Spain*, ſhould appertain to the Crown of *Spain*. *France* therefore, deſigning to make her advantage of this Article, cauſed, before the coming of the Ratification, the Ax to be ſet to a Wood of tall over-grown Trees, which was upon

upon the Lands of *Spain*, and having fell'd the Timber, tranſported it into her own Lands, that when the Ratification ſhould come, ſhe might diſpoſe thereof at her pleaſure. I appeal to the Duke *d' Arſchot*, or the Prince *de Chimay*, to teſtify whether I ſay any thing but Truth; for I well know that this Wood belonged to one of them, tho I cannot at preſent remember to which of the two it was.

War was not the ſole Affliction which this year befell *Flanders*, GOD ſending them moreover ſo terrible a Plague, that there was ſcarce an Houſe exempted from it. In the mean time GOD preſerved the *French*, of whom, tho they were in Garriſon in the Towns where it made the greateſt ravage, and above all at *Oudenarde*, yet was there not ſo much as one that died thereof. Some impute this to their Temper, which is very different from that of the *Flemings*; but for my part I attribute it to a permiſſion of GOD, who, when he pleaſes, ſaves ſome to take others.

The Peace being made, as I juſt now told you, every one enjoyed in repoſe the Benefit he might expect thereof. The *Hollanders* alone, for having laboured for the Publick Good, ſaw themſelves expoſed to the Hatred of *France*, who expected only a favourable occaſion to make them feel her reſentment. The Occaſion, or, to ſay better, the Pretext was ſoon found. As there is nothing ſuffered to be printed in *France* without Licenſe, ſome French-men, who were not perhaps over-well ſatisfied with the Government, or who, it may be, had received ſome particular diſcontent, publiſhed certain diffamatory Libels againſt the King and his Miniſters, which bearing on their Title-page the Name of *Amſterdam*, as the place of their Impreſſion, the King took great Offence thereat, as if it were not uſual to put upon a Book the Name of a Printer that knows nothing of it. There appeared alſo ſometime after a Print, wherein the King was repreſented upon a Horſe without Bit or Bridle, with this Inſcription,

ſcription, *He knows not whither he goes:* Inſinuating thereby, that it was to no purpoſe for him to make ſo many Reviews, that he might ſurprize one or other, ſince he would every where find reſiſtance.

But of all which at that time appeared, for I mention not here the hundredth part, there was not any thing better invented, or more to the purpoſe, than a certain Medal, on the one ſide whereof was repreſented Monſieur *van Beuningen*, who had the greateſt ſhare in managing the forementioned Treaty of the Triple-League: and on the reverſe, *Joſhua* ſtaying the courſe of the Sun, with theſe Latin Words, *In conſpectu meo ſtetit Sol.* Now we muſt know that the Sun was the French King's Device, and that thoſe who had invented this Medal, meant thereby, that even as *Joſhua* had ſtayed the Courſe of the Sun, for to defeat the *Philiſtins*; ſo Monſieur *van Beuningen*, who was called *Joſhua*, ſtayed the Courſe of the King, that was upon the point to deſtroy the *Flemings*.

This

This Medal no ſooner appeared abroad, but *France* highly menaced thoſe who had made it; and ſince ſhe accuſed the *Hollanders* thereof, they thought it became them to ſhew the whole World, that they were not capable of ſuch Actions. Wherefore they gave in charge to their Ambaſſador to diſabuſe the King and his Miniſters, but to take his time ſo fitly for the doing it, that it might not be believed they were induced to make this Excuſe through the fear of their Menaces. In the mean time, to ſay the Truth, this Medal was never either invented or made in *Holland*; I have heard ſay that it was made at *Rome*, and was the Invention of the *Italians*, who being, if we may ſo ſay, plunged over Head and Ears in Repoſe and Delights, know not oftentimes what to apply themſelves unto, unleſs it be to ſpeak ill of their Neighbour. Others impute it to ſome diſcontented French-man, who had perhaps been fruſtrated in his deſires, or otherwiſe ill treated. However it was, this I well know, that there

there is not ſo much as one Perſon in all *Holland*, who will grant that it was made in their Country, which yet, if it were ſo, they would eaſily acknowledg, ſince they are not over-guilty of concealing what they do.

The Treaty of Peace, whereof I ere-while ſpake, was ſtill in being, but withal it was plainly ſeen, that in the Eſtate wherein things were, it could not long continue. *France*, who was ſenſible of her own Power, daily, as we may ſay, provoked every one with her Bravadoes; and there was none but the King of *England* whom ſhe managed, becauſe ſhe knew he was ſtrong at Sea, and would be a great Succour to thoſe in whoſe favour he ſhould declare himſelf. The *Hollanders*, who knew all the Steps which *France* made towards him, endeavoured on their ſide to keep up the good Intelligence which was between the two Nations, tho not with their ancient ſubmiſſiveneſs, as believing it no leſs the Intereſt of the *Engliſh* to hold a good Correſpondence with them, than it was theirs

to live in amity with the *English*.

Things were in this condition when there arose a Difference between that Republick and *England* upon the Subject of Commerce. The Republick endeavoured speedily and amicably to terminate this Affair but the King of *England* who was highly sensible of some former Indignities of theirs, being incessantly solicited by *France* to declare War against them, was so resolute to make his own Terms in this Treaty, that the Republick thought fit to have recourse to *France*, whose Interest it was not to suffer the King of *England* to become so powerful. *France* for some time amused their Ambassadors as if she had a design to make a League with them; but as what she did, was only to have time to gain the King of *England*, whose Friendship she courted at an high rate; she had no sooner perfected her Treaty with him, but she began clearly to manifest her Intentions.

Besides, I might here say, That the *Hollanders* were somewhat defici-

ent

ent in their Conduct towards the King of *England*, with whom matters might have been accommodated notwithstanding his great Pretensions. But since I know that the sole Obstacle herein was Mr. *de Witt*, Pensionary of *Holland*, who had a great influence on that Commonwealth, I should be to blame, should I cast upon many, what was the Fault of one alone: For in fine, it was none but he that hindred the terminating the Difference with the King of *England*, who was willing to remit many things in favour of the Prince of *Orange*, for whom he demanded some Establishment; but *de Witt*'s Jealousy of this Prince was so great, that he preferr'd his own particular Interests before the common Utility. Not but that he was a Man of great Wit, and who forefaw well enough whatever might be the Consequence of an Affair; but he had his Heart too much envenomed against the House of *Orange*, whereunto I shall attribute all the Infelicities which soon after befell that Republick. In the mean time

time, I will not ſay here, as many others have done, that this was an Effect of the Intelligence he had with the *French*: For let none believe, that to make my Court to the Living, I will dig up the Dead, and make their Proceſs. Believe not, I ſay, that I will aſſert a thing which I know not, and whereof it is neceſſary I ſhould be very well aſſured before I ſpeak. In effect, a Writer, who deſires to have the Reputation of an honeſt Man, muſt be very careful to write nothing whereof he is not exceeding certain. Not but that there are very often things related, which are ſomewhat problematical; but it is then the Author's duty to let the Reader underſtand, that he is left to the liberty of believing as he ſhall think fit.

I ſay then, ſpeaking of Mr. *de Witt*, that altho he were a very wiſe Man, he was nevertheleſs mightily overſeen in not making his Peace with the King of *England*. For to to come a little cloſer to the matter: It behoved him either to ſatisfy that

King

King in what he required, or to be ſure of the Alliance with the *French*, that he might not have at the ſame time theſe two Powers upon his Back; but ſince inſtead of having the *French* for him, it was they, on the contrary, that exaſperated matters, he had no other way but to content the King of *England*, who had many times demanded the Reſtitution of the Prince of *Orange* to the Offices which had been enjoyed by his Predeceſſors, with ſo much Reputation to themſelves, and Advantage to the Commonwealth.

Moreover, had I undertaken it, I could eaſily here demonſtrate, That there was nothing ſo contrary to the Good of the State, as the having thus removed the Prince of *Orange* from the Affairs thereof. But ſince it would occaſion the believing of what I will not have believed, that what I ſhould do therein would be to captivate the Honour of his good Graces, I ſhall content my ſelf with ſaying, That if Mr. *de Witt* prevaricated in any thing, it was undoubtedly

in this. But be it how it will, the Republick learning from all parts, that *France* and *England* made terrible preparations for the making War upon her both by Sea and Land, did on their ſide what they believed themſelves obliged to do, not to be ſo ſoon overwhelmed.

My deſign is not to engage here in the Hiſtory of a War ſo long and tedious as that was; for tho I was preſent at many great Actions which paſt therein, and can ſpeak thereof with as much aſſurance as another, yet ſince they fought in ſo many places, that one Man cannot have been at them all, I ſhould be obliged to report many things upon the Teſtimony of others, which is very often deceitful, every one ordinarily adding or diminiſhing in his Recital, according to his particular Paſſion, and ſometimes according to the Love he has for his Country. I ſhall not however paſs ſilently over the Things I ſhall think fit for my purpoſe, which is to ſhew the Ambition of *France*, and the Maxims ſhe makes uſe of

to

to bring about her Deſigns.

It is very certain, that when the two Kings reſolved to declare War againſt the *Hollanders*, that Commonwealth was in no good condition to undergo it, whereof I will alledg three principal Reaſons. The firſt and ſtrongeſt was the little Union there was between the principal Perſons of the State, whereof ſome blindly followed the Paſſion of Mr. *de Witt*, and others on the contrary demanded the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Prince of *Orange* in all the Offices of his Anceſtors. Every one knows the Conteſts which arrived thereupon, and that in fine, neither of the Parties getting the Advantage, the Prince of *Orange* was choſen Captain-General of the State, but with ſo limited a Power, as it was eaſily to be judged, that if Mr. *de Witt* was not able to obtain his whole deſire, he had at leaſt obtained a part thereof.

But what nevertheleſs ſhews that his Spirit reigned not ſo much as it heretofore had done in the Reſolutions of State, is what paſs'd ſome time

time after, and I am here going to relate. He perceiving that the Prince of *Orange*, by his winning Temper, obliging Conduct, and in fine, by so many excellent Qualities as are in his Person, daily gain'd new Creatures; and that on the contrary, his own Credit every day diminished: he began to think of sheltring himself from the just Resentment of this Prince. I know that he consulted thereupon Mr. *de Groot*, and another Person, who yet in my opinion is no great Politician; and that they both confirmed him in the Resolution he had already taken, to make a Levy of Twelve Thousand Men in the Province of *Holland*, besides the Forces they were to raise in conjunction with the other Provinces. His design herein was to be always Master of these Twelve Thousand Men, who were never to go out of Garrison, and he would not have the Prince of *Orange* to have any Authority over them: wherefore he had already pitch'd upon *Mombas* for their Commander, in an opinion, without doubt, that

that he could not chuſe a greater Captain to continue in Garriſon. But the Prince of *Orange*, whom this Enterpriſe every way concerned, but principally in reſpect of his Office of Captain-General of the State, which was thereby ſtruck at, ſo vigorouſly oppoſed it, that all this great Deſign vaniſhed away in Smoke.

The ſecond Reaſon which ſhould have made the *States* fear the not having any great Succeſs in this War, is, That they had ſcarce any Troops to guard ſo many ſtrong Places, whereof their little Country is compoſed, thoſe they had being moreover raw and unexperienced, ſeeming to have participated of the Nature of the Inhabitants, who are ſo addicted to Trade, that they ſeem now uncapable of any thing elſe. In effect, as a Man becomes a Smith by his often working in Iron; ſo is it to be believed, that no Man becomes a Souldier, if he be not often in occaſions of War. For this nevertheleſs there ſeemed to be a Remedy, which was to have recourſe to the neighbouring

bouring Princes, who had good Troops on foot, for which they appeared not to have any uſe; but when they would addreſs to them, they found theſe Princes ſo alarm'd at the Deſigns of *France*, that not knowing whether ſhe would not turn her Arms upon their Countries, they were glad to ſtand upon their Guards.

The third Reaſon, and the laſt, at leaſt of thoſe which I intend to alledge, is, That there was no hope of having any Succour from Princes more remote, whereof ſome were Penſionaries of *France*, and others ſo weak and timerous, that they ſeemed to be afraid of offending her. It was to little purpoſe for the *States* to repreſent to them, that their Intereſts ought to be common againſt a common Enemy, who aſpired after an Univerſal Monarchy; they were inſenſible, as I may ſay: Which I do not however find very ſtrange, ſince they are not at preſent much leſs tho many of them are in a great meaſure ſtript of their Soveraignty. The Emperor nevertheleſs took fire at the

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Conſequences that were at that time remark'd unto him, and which we at this day ſee to be ſo funeſt; but having ſpoken but a moment with Father *Emerick*, or ſome other Jeſuit, how far was he from being the Man he ſeemed to be but a minute before! They repreſented it to him as a ſcruple of Conſcience, to undertake a War in favour of an Heretical Republick; and he ſo readily fell into all the Snares they laid for him, that when he was preſs'd for an Anſwer, it was plainly ſeen, that 'twas no longer the Emperor who ſpake, but the Monks, who ſpake through the Emperor's Mouth. Thus whilſt the *French* King at the head of his Army ſtruck a Terror into all that part of *Germany* which lies near the *Rhine*, did he amuſe himſelf with cauſing to be ſung in his Cloſet an Air of Devotion, being encompaſs'd by twenty Jeſuits, who were Judges of the Melody, and who never failed to applaud theſe worthy Employs of an Emperor. It was then through their Counſel, that he would not give any

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positive Answer to the *Hollanders*, till he had first consulted Heaven at *Marienzel*, whither he went with unconceivable Superstitions, altho those that loved his Person, or the Good of the Empire, endeavoured to disabuse him by the way.

The Jesuits kept as close to him in this Journey, as the Shadow doth to the Body; for they intending to sell him, and it being impossible for them to deliver him, if he once took Resolutions worthy an Emperor, they endeavoured to entertain his Superstitions, to the end they might accomplish their Work. One time, when there being arrived a Courier, who brought pressing News, the Emperor bade he should attend, for that he was busied about other Affairs; yet could it not be guess'd what Affairs these might be, no Body having been seen to go in with him, till an hour, or perhaps I should not lie if I said an hour and half after, four Jesuits were seen to come forth, and when these Gentlemen were gone out, the Courier was brought in.

But

But to return to the Voyage of *Marienzel*, every one expected to see the Emperor take a Resolution conformable to the Sentiments which the Jesuits endeavoured to inspire into him, when one of his principal Ministers, whose Name I am mad with my self for having forgot, being thereby hindred from recommending it to Posterity, bethought himself of an Artifice ingenious enough, to excite him to act once like an Emperor. He had during the Night received a Courier, who brought the News of the great Success that *France* had had in *Holland*, and of some Intrigues she was working in *Germany*, but delayed telling him thereof till he was ready to go to Church, for fear the Jesuits should turn his Mind, if they had time to discourse him. He shewed him then the News he had received as he was going to Mass, pretending that they were but newly arrived, and without expecting till the Emperor demanded his Advice, told him, There was no longer time to deliberate thereon, unless he would

loſe the Empire with all the Hereditary Countries. None knew whereon he diſcourſed the Emperor, tho every one deſired to know it, becauſe they ſaw him ſpeak fervently, and even with ſome ſort of tranſport. But this Miniſter, being very willing that all thoſe who were preſent, whom he believed to be well-minded, ſhould help him to deſtroy the ill Counſels which the Jeſuits might have given the Emperor, at the ſame time acquainted them with what paſs'd, and then there was no longer heard about him any thing, but that there was no more time to be loſt, and that War muſt be declared againſt the *French*.

The Jeſuits were not there to be conſulted upon ſo important an Affair, they were already gone to the Church, believing that there would be no other Inſpiration but theirs: But the Emperor being throughly heated at the News he had juſt learnt, no longer remembred the Leſſons they had given him. Things however went on in all the Forms, as if he had

 indeed

indeed expected ſome Inſpiration from Heaven: For after he had proſtrated himſelf with his face to the ground, and continued ſome time in this poſture, taking a Crucifix into his hands, he kiſs'd it three or four times, then looking fixedly upon it, as if he expected it ſhould anſwer him, he on a ſudden lifted up his voice, and ſaid: *O GOD of Mercy and Goodneſs, teach me whether I muſt at this day entertain Peace, or declare War! Ought I to be inſenſible of the Enterprizes of* France? *and muſt I let her take from me the Imperial Crown, which thou haſt put upon my Head, without endeavouring to keep it?* He ſaid no more, but having again kiſs'd his Crucifix three or four times, bowed himſelf down as he had done before; then raiſing himſelf again all of a ſudden, he turned towards the People, and ſaid unto them, That it was done, that GOD would have him make War; but that he took the ſame GOD to witneſs, that what he did was not through Ambition.

The Emperor's Prayer, which was not very long, extremely pleaſed the Jeſuits, who are accuſed of delighting more in the Courts of Princes, than in the Church of GOD. In effect, thoſe that know the Original of the Quarrel, which was not long ſince agitated between the French King and the Pope, attribute it to the Fear they had leſt this Pope, who was not ſo Jeſuit-ridden as his Predeceſſors, ſhould oblige them to do as the other Monks, that is, to ſing High-Maſs, to ſay Veſpers in publick, to riſe in the Night to ſing Mattins, and to perform all other Monaſtical Functions, which I neither know, nor ever ſhall know, having never been a Monk, nor yet ever intending to be one. They ſay, That the Jeſuits, having already received ſome Marks that the Pope loved them not, whilſt he was yet but Cardinal, were ſtill more perſuaded thereof a little after his Exaltation, he having ſpoken in an Aſſembly of Cardinals of giving them a Protector, as other Religious Perſons have, that is to ſay, a Man who

who ſhould look after their Actions, and give an account thereof. And indeed there would be nothing more advantagious or more neceſſary for the Good of Chriſtendom: for were it ſo, we ſhould not at this day ſee ſo many Factions in all the Courts of Princes, where we obſerve Men who would have us believe that they have renounced the World, intermedling not only in Matters of State, but alſo in the Affairs of particular Perſons; we ſhould not ſee ſo many Huſbands diſcontented with their Wives, ſo many Wives refractory to their Husbands; ſo many Children diſobedient to their Parents, ſo many Parents unnatural towards their Children: for in fine, their Charms extend even to the perverting the Order of Nature, as well as the Order of Monarchies: but they take little care for whatever may be thought of their Conduct, provided they bring about their pernicious Deſigns. I might ſay many other things, which would be no leſs true than theſe; but ſince there is none, who knows not

that whatever paſſes at this day funeſt in *Europe*, is the ſad Effect of their abominable Counſels, it is better to paſs over what I have to ſay in ſilence, for to let the Imagination work, which is fill'd with ſo great an Idea of their Wickedneſs, that all I can ſay thereof is but a Trifle in compariſon of what every one ſaith within himſelf.

But to return to their Conduct towards the Pope. When they ſaw that he already ſpoke of giving them a Protector, they aſſembled their beſt Heads, and reſolved to raiſe him up ſo many Affairs, that he ſhould not have time to think only upon them. And ſince there was no Perſon in *Europe* more capable to make the Court of *Rome* tremble, than the French King, who had already terrified ſo many other States, they inſinuated into him by the means of his Confeſſor Father *le Chaiſe*, that the Pope daily enterpriſed upon his Authority; that if he did not make a timely oppoſition, it was to be feared he would ſtill more and more entrench thereon.

A Canon of *Pamiers* in the County of *Foix*, happened to die just in the nick; to entangle matters, they caused the King to provide a Successor for his Benefice, tho it was not his Custom to do it; and the Bishop having on his part provided one, as it was his Right according to the Usage to do, they so far animated the King against the Bishop, that he was at the same time proscribed.

The Pope, who was not only jealous to conserve the Rights whereof he was in possession, but also to follow the laudable Custom of his Predecessors, who have usurped so many, that they are at this day equal, not to say superior, to the greatest Kings, believed that his Authority was concerned not to suffer a Bishop to be ill treated for having done his Duty. See then at the same time the Arms of *Rome* in the Field, I mean a great Number of Briefs, which are called in this Court *Spiritual Arms*; but that they should not make much progress, which they might have done if they found no resistance, there was

at the ſame time oppoſed unto them a like Army, that is to ſay, Abundance of Decrees of the *Sorbon*, the moſt part of the Doctors whereof were ready to do whatever the King would have them, like good and faithful Subjects, that is, without entring into the knowledg of the Cauſe. There were neverthelefs ſome of the moſt ancient amongſt them, who having ſuck'd in the Love of *Rome* with their Milk, refuſed to ſign an Act, which had been decreed by the Clergy, and which a Preſident, accompanied by ſome Counſellors of the Parliament of *Paris*, brought into the *Sorbon*, to be regiſtred there. But ſince they would not have any there who reſiſted the King's Will, ſome of them were ſent to the *Pyrenees*, to keep company with Bears, others into the *Alps*, and the reſt into the remoteſt Provinces of the Realm.

If I would here relate the Conſequence of this great Affair, I muſt undertake the making of a great Volume: for I ſhould be obliged to ſhew

ſhew the Zeal of the French Clergy for the Service of their King, and their Rebellion againſt the Pope; Letters of the ſame Clergy of their inviolable Attachment to the Fortune of *Lewis* the Great, and of their Contempt of *Rome*; *Theſes* maintained in the *Sorbon*, wholly contrary to ſuch as were maintained there before; the General of the Jeſuits refractory to the Orders of the Pope, and ſubmitting to the Orders of the King; in fine, ſo great a Diſpoſition in the Clergy and Nobility to ſhake off the Yoke of Roman Obedience, that if the Chancellor of *France* had not remonſtrated to the King, That ſo great a Change could not be made in the State, without cauſing perhaps an Inſurrection amongſt the People, who in matter of Religion are even to Superſtition attack'd thereunto, altho they very often know not any Points of their Belief; There was great appearance of the Pope's loſing his Annates, and whatever elſe he draws from ſo great a Kingdom. But ſince the Recital of ſo many things would

engage me to a Subject wholly different from that which I have here propoſed to my ſelf, I will return to the Jeſuits, and, to follow the Thread of my Diſcourſe in what concerns them, will ſay, That as much as they were edified at the Emperor's ſhort Prayer, for the Reaſons I have before alledged, ſo much were they mortified at the Reſolution he had taken to make War. For in fine, altho they knew better than any other, that it concern'd not only his Intereſt, but alſo his Glory, not to ſuffer all the Enterpriſes which *France* every day made againſt the Empire; yet as they made profeſſion to take always the ſtronger ſide, it was already ſome time that they had abandoned the Intereſts of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, on which Fortune had begun to turn her back, to embrace thoſe of the Houſe of *France*, to which ſhe appeared favourable.

I will not undertake to relate here all the Contentions they cauſed in the Emperor's Court, to hinder the Effect of the Reſolution he had taken,

altho it would perhaps be a thing curious enough to be known; but I shall only say, That to retard the March of the Troops which were to join those of the Marquess of *Brandenburg*, who had newly embraced the Defence of the *Hollanders*, they put into his Head, that he should no sooner have diffurnished the Frontiers of *Hungary*, but the *Turks*, who had secret Intelligences there, would make use of the Opportunity, without regarding the Truce which was between the two Empires. And the Emperor being but a weak Prince, and disposed to take the first Impressions that were given him, this thought sank so deep in his mind, that altho he were not so ignorant of the Affairs of the World, as not to see that the Marquess of *Brandenburg* could do nothing without him, he ceased not to leave his Troops in their Quarters, while the Marquess of *Brandenburg* at the Head of his went to seek Honour and Glory.

All the Grandees of the Empire, at least those that were faithful to the

Empe-

Emperor, could not forbear ſpeaking aloud their Sentiments of a Proceeding ſo extraordinary, and ſo replete with weakneſs. In the mean time, as they left no way unattempted to undeceive the Emperor, it being believed alſo that they would do it, that wherewith his Eyes were enveloped being ſo palpable, that there was none but he who could have been blinded with it. The Jeſuits, fearing to ſee all their Deſigns overthrown, changed then their Battery, and ſeeing that the Fear he had conceived of the *Turks* was likely to be ſoon diſſipated, they gave him new Apprehenſions of the Forces of *Poland*, adding, that he who commands that People would no ſooner ſee the Troops of the Empire buſied about the *Rhine*, but he would fall on the Provinces that were moſt convenient for him, were it only by this Diverſion to teſtify unto *France* his Acknowledgment of the Services ſhe had done him, in procuring his Elevation to the Throne. They added hereunto the Intelligence which appeared between the French King

King and the King of *Poland*; the Influence which the Queen of *Poland*, who was a *French*-Woman, had on the King her Husband; and in fine, the Pranks which the French plaid, to make that Crown take Arms againſt the Empire.

All theſe Remonſtrances caſt the Emperor into new Irreſolutions. He had juſt given Order for his Troops to go out of their Quarters, but he ſent them a Counter-Order before they were gone any great way.

In the mean time the *French*, having taken the Field, and being entred into the *United Provinces*, divided their Forces into three Armies, for to encompaſs the more of the Country. The King commanded one, the Prince of *Conde* another, and the Vifcount *de Turenne* the laſt: The firſt was animated by the preſence of the King; the ſecond, by the Reputation of the Prince of *Conde*; and the third, by the Confidence they had in the Wiſdom of the Vifcount *de Turenne*, who was beſides one of the greateſt Captains of his Time.

Time. But that which yet renders all ſorts of Enterpriſes more eaſy to the *French*, is, that they found nobody in the Field to make head againſt them, and ſo little Reſiſtance in the Towns, that it gave occaſion to believe that they had Intelligence in the moſt of them. For my part, I will not affirm that it was ſo or not, but ſhall only ſay, that there was a great preſumption of it in what was done by *Doſſery*, who commanded at *Rhinberg*, which he ſurrendred without expecting the Canon, altho there were above fifteen hundred Men in Garriſon, with good Officers enough to command them.

But if any thing were capable to give ſuſpicion of Intelligence, it was without doubt that which paſſed at the Paſſage of the *Rhine*: For if I will examine what was done by *Mombas*, who had Orders to repair thither, and what he himſelf alledges for his own Juſtification, I find him abſolutely culpable, or at leaſt very ignorant in the Myſtery of War. He ſaith, That having received Orders

from

from the Prince of *Orange* to repair to *Tolhus*, he went thither with the few Troops he had given him, and expected there thoſe which were farther promiſed him to defend the Paſſage; but that theſe Troops not coming, he well ſaw that he had given him this Command only to deſtroy him, which made him ask of thoſe Deputies of the States, who were joined with the Prince of *Orange*, that they would ſend him to ſome other place, where he might acquire greater Glory.

As for my own part, as I was preſent at the Paſſage, ſo can I ſcarce ſuffer my ſelf to be told, that there needed many Men to hinder the *French* from paſſing. If the Squadron which march'd againſt the twenty or five and twenty Curaſſiers, which paſt firſt, had put themſelves into the midſt of the *Rhine*, inſtead of ſtaying, as they did, upon the Bank, there would have needed no more to keep the others from paſſing, who came as yet but in a ſingle File, one after another: but having been ſo imprudent,

dent, or ſo cowardly, as not to advance any further, they gave the *French*, who were retired into the Water, Time to embody themſelves, and then when they return'd againſt them, ran away.

Thus there is no reaſon for *Mombas* to ſay, that he had not Men enow to defend the Paſſage, ſince he had more than he needed, as I have now demonſtrated. But let us grant him what he demands, and agree, as he will have it, that the Prince of *Orange* gave him this Command to ſtroy him; what, doth he thence conclude that he might retire as he did? What Souldier is there ſo great a Novice in the Trade of War, as to be ignorant, that when a General has once ſent him to a Poſt, he is obliged to keep it till ſuch time as the General cauſes him to be relieved? For let not *Mombas* pretend to excuſe himſelf by the Order of the States Deputies. The States have Right to command the Prince of *Orange*, who is their Captain-General; but it belongs to the Captain-General

to

to command the Military Officers. And I do not believe, that a Deputy of the States would intermeddle to give a Command contrary to what the Captain-General has commanded; for ſo he would expoſe himſelf, if he ſhould addreſs to a Man that knows his Buſineſs, to ſee his Command ſlighted.

We may then hence conclude one of theſe three things: Firſt; That *Mombas* having abandoned the *Rhine*, becauſe the Prince of *Orange* ſent him not the Reinforcement he had promiſed him, was a Man without Courage or Experience: ſince Experience would have taught him, that it required no great Number of Men to keep ſuch a Paſſage as that; and had he been a Man of Courage, he would have deſpiſed a little Danger to acquire a great Glory.

The ſecond thing that muſt thence be inferred, is, That after he had been commanded by the Captain-General of the State to keep a Poſt of ſo great importance, he muſt be very ignorant in Military Affairs, to believe

believe that he might quit it upon sight of an Order, begg'd from and granted by a Person, who does not so much as understand Martial Discipline, and whom the State sends to give Order rather in Political than Military Affairs, wherein understanding nothing himself, he refers himself to him in whose hands the Command of the Armies is entrusted.

The third Conclusion that is to be drawn thence, is, That if *Mambur* were neither cowardly, nor ignorant of his Business, which, to do him a pleasure, I am very willing to imagine, he was at least guilty of Treason. And what would incline one to believe that there was some such thing in it, is, That he had the Winter before made a Journey to *Paris*, where he saw the Prince of *Conde*, although I cannot find that he was known to him before; nor can I learn that he has had the honour to see him since, except when he made his Escape from *Nieuwbruk*; for Princes, as well as other Persons, have no great esteem for Traytors.

But

But let us pass over in silence a Campaign so replete with Desolation and Misery: And indeed the remembrance of so many funest Things cannot please either one or other: For if, on the one side, the *Hollanders* do not love to have the memory renewed of so many intestine Discords; the *French*, on the other side, have no great reason to desire we should put them in mind of an infinite Number of Faults they committed at that time, and whereunto we are indebted for the safety of the *United Provinces*. But we may here say, that this was the Work of GOD's Hand, who being pleased to save this State, saved at the same time the rest of *Europe*. In effect, there was none but GOD alone, who was capable to trouble the Judgment of the *French* to such a degree, as to commit the Faults they did: For we do not read in History any thing like that which pass'd at *Muiden*, the taking whereof drew on that of *Amsterdam*, and that of *Amsterdam* would have been accompanied with that of all the Seven Provinces: yet

yet after that four of their Horſe had made themſelves Maſters of that Place, inſtead of putting a Garriſon therein, they ſet themſelves to run about plundring the Country; but perceiving then the Error they were guilty of, they would have returned to *Muiden*, whereof it was impoſſible for them to get poſſeſſion, the *Hollanders* having ſent Forces thither.

This Fault was attributed to the Marqueſs *de Rochefort*, Lieutenant-General, and Captain of the Life-Guard, who commanded the *French* in the Province of *Utrecht*, and who had not much experience. In effect it was obſerved, that as he was always uncertain of what he ought to do, he made ſix thouſand Men take Horſe, when there needed but two thouſand, and thus exceedingly tired his Troops, without drawing thence any Benefit: For as he was afraid of not ſucceeding, he choſe rather to return very often without doing any thing, than to incur any Hazard. This Conduct made him be called by the Troops, *The Peaceable General*; but

but when he commanded not in chief, he was as enterprising as another, what he did being only want of Experience, and not of Courage.

The Oversight at *Muiden* was the cause that the Marquess *de Rochefort* was recalled from *Utrecht*; but as he was one of the Kinsmen and good Friends of Mr. *de Louvois*, he was not the more disesteemed for it at Court, the Government of *Lorrain* being on the contrary given to him. Mr. *de Luxemburg* was sent in his place, a Man more known by the Cruelties he committed in *Holland*, than by his great Exploits; not that I will deny him to be a very brave Man, but he was not much more knowing than Mr. *de Rochefort*, which was always known when he commanded a Body of above ten thousand Men, for the rest enterprising, and therein very different from him in whose place he came.

In the mean time, we are to know that the Prince of *Orange*, having arrested *Mombas* on the suspicion he had of his holding Intelligence with the

the Enemy, caused his Process to b
made, and there was a great appe
rance that he would be made an Ex
ample to others; when *Mombas*, whe
ther he was conscious of his own
Guilt, as is probably believed, or tha
he had heard there is nothing so
sweet as Liberty, bethought himself
of making his Escape, by corrupting
his Guards. The History of his
Flight is very agreeable and diverti
sing, by reason of many Accidents
which arrived therein; but since
that makes nothing to my purpose,
shall only say, That having traverse
six Leagues always up to the Girdle
in Water, and sometimes higher, he
got safe to *Utrecht*, and thence to
*Arnheim*, where was the Prince of
*Condé*, who had been wounded at
the Passage of the *Rhine*. He saw
that Prince at four in the morning,
stayed with him above two hours,
and retired from thence to *Cologn*.
But let us make here a little reflection,
and see whether this Interview, with
all that followed it, be not an indu
bitable Proof of the Intelligence he

held

held with the Enemies.

If *Mombas* had been faithful, how durſt he, who juſt came from bearing Arms againſt *France*, whereof he was born a Subject, put himſelf into the hands of the Prince of *Condé*? Was there not reaſon to believe that he would cauſe him to be arreſted? and that a Crown which prohibits its Subjects upon pain of Death from ſerving of Strangers, would ſhew it ſelf much more ſevere to him, who was not only refractory to this Ordinance, but had moreover ſo lately drawn his Sword againſt it? I know well, he hath told ſome that he was ſeized with this fear, and that it was for this reaſon he did not ſtay at *Utrecht*; Mr. *de Luxemburg*, whom he had cauſed to be told that he was eſcaped from *Nieuerbruk*; and whoſe Protection he had demanded, having anſwered, that he did not adviſe him to come into any Place where he had Command, becauſe he ſhould be obliged to arreſt him.

But let us examine a little this Article, and ſee whether it be not, as

they

they ſay, to caſt duſt in ones eyes, to talk on this manner. *Mombas* makes his Eſcape to *Utrecht*, he enters thereinto at open day, he traverſes the whole Town; he goes to lodge, as I take it, at the Palace-Royal, where he uſed to lodge when the Town did not belong to the French; he cauſes the Duke of *Luxemburg* to be told that he was eſcaped, he asks his Protection: and yet he would have us believe, that the Duke of *Luxemburg* knew not he was there, but that having ſent him word he ſhould have a care of coming thither, he was obliged to go to *Arnhem*. Let us rather ſay, that ſince it was the Prince of *Condé*, who had been concerned in all things the foregoing Winter, Mr. *de Luxemburg* believing that it ſtill belonged to him to meddle in it, was very glad that *Mombas* ſhould addreſs himſelf directly to him, not but that he himſelf would have been very willing to have had a part in this Intrigue, but becauſe he feared this might offend the Prince, in whoſe good opinion it was his Intereſt to keep himſelf.

But let us proſecute a little this Affair, and ſee whether there be any appearance to ſay that *Mombas* was innocent. He ſeeks out the Prince of *Conde*, ſends him word by *Deſroches*, Captain of his Guards, that he ſhould be very glad of the Honour to ſpeak with him, and, in one word, puts himſelf into his hands, whereas he ought to have ſtood more upon his Guard, after the Advertiſement he had received from Mr. *de Luxemburg*. In the mean time, as if the Prince of *Conde* had not had the ſame meaſures to keep as the Duke of *Luxemburg*, he ſees him, diſcourſes familiarly with him of all things, and after he had promiſed him his Protection, counſelled him to retire to *Cologne*, till ſuch time as he could incline the King to pardon him.

Here I ſhould willingly ask *Mombas*, Whether he be himſelf ſo much a Fool, as to think others ſilly enough to give credit to his Words? In effect, how can it be imagined, that the Prince of *Conde* would not only have ſeen him, but alſo counſelled

him to retire to *Cologne*, if he had not done this by agreement with the Court, who were very willing not to have it believed, that all the happy Succeſs they had in *Holland* was an Effect of the ſecret Intelligence they held with *Mombas?* For otherwiſe, in what hazard would the Prince of *Conde* have put himſelf, who would not have failed to be taxed, for having not only ſeen a Man that was proſcribed, but having alſo taught him a Place of Retreat? From all this, let us conclude, that *Mombas* was truly culpable; but let us at the ſame time add, that there were many others ſo as well as he: which gave him the facility of making his Eſcape from *Nieurbruk*, theſe other Perſons having for that purpoſe made uſe of all that was in their power, for fear he ſhould accuſe them alſo, when he ſhould once ſee himſelf upon the Scaffold.

In the mean time he was not left long at *Cologne*; for ſince they believed they had done enough to ſave the Appearances, by divulging that

he had been obliged to make his Escape a great way off, he was ſoon called back, and had Orders to go to the Duke of *Luxemburg*, who however teſtified no great confidence in him. He was, notwithſtanding, very aſſiduous in courting him, and offered to do him ſervice even in the moſt vile and abject things; and it was not long of him, had they been willing to give but the leaſt credit to what he ſaid, that he was not believed to be a Man of great Importance. In fine, he had not taken ſo much care before to hide his Treaſon, but that he gloried as much then in making it appear. He asked Mr. *de Luxemburg* to give him two thouſand Men, to go and attack the Prince of *Orange* at *Nieuerbruk*, vaunting, that he would traverſe all the Inundation which was between *Wordes* and that Town, and would thus ſurprize him in the Rear, whilſt Mr. *de Luxemburg* ſhould on his ſide attack him in the Front: But Mr. *de Luxemburg*, who beſides that he believed him no great Captain, had not confidence e-

nough in him to give him thus two thouſand Men, endeavoured to abate his warlike Sallies; whereat he ſo much the more wondred, as that they began to take him at the age of five and fifty years.

Some time after the Prince of *Orange* reſolved to beſiege *Worden*, at the taking whereof the French had in cold Blood kill'd the Bayliff, who had advanced to ſhut the Gates againſt them. This Enterpriſe was conducted with a great deal of Prudence, the Prince of *Orange* having ſurprized the Vigilance of the Duke of *Luxemburg*, who had taken the Field to put Troops therein; but ſince the *Duke* of *Luxemburg* knew not whether it were not *Naerden*, at which the Prince of *Orange* aimed, becauſe he had taken the way thither, he turned towards that Town; and whilſt he was going thither, the Prince of *Orange* inveſted *Worden*, and ſetled his Quarters there. I relate this Affair rather than many others, becauſe therein an Adventure befell *Mombas*, which will ſhew in what

what eſteem he was in the mind of the *French*, as well as of the *Hollanders*. Before the Duke of *Luxemburg* knew that *Wordes* was beſieged, he reſolved to ſuccour it, altho the thing appeared difficult, for two reaſons: The firſt, becauſe he had but few Men with him; the other, becauſe the way to go thither was very ſtrait, and beſides, the *Hollanders* had already retrench'd themſelves at the Head thereof. In the mean time, as he wanted not Boldneſs, he reſolved to give ſomething to Fortune. For this purpoſe he detached the Marqueſs *de Genlis*, Mareſchal de Camp, to draw together from the Neighbouring Quarters the moſt Troops he poſſibly could; and having appointed him Time and Place for a Rendezvous, he went thither, where for a long time he expected the Marqueſs *de Genlis*, without ſeeing him come. As there needed no great matter to make him ſwear, he took occaſion from thence to take into his mouth the Name of GOD, of whom he did

not often otherwiſe ſpeak; he an hundred times reviled the Marqueſs *de Genlis*, threatning aloud to ruine him at Court; and not daring to accuſe him of Cowardiſe, becauſe there were many Perſons who would have ſecretly given him the Lie, he accuſed him of holding Intelligence with the Enemy, but in covert and uncertain Words, whereunto no-body would anſwer, becauſe they well ſaw from what Spirit this proceeded. In fine, when he had vented his Choler in abundance of Injuries and Blaſphemies, he aſſembled a little Council of War, compoſed of the Count *de Saxe*, the Marqueſs de *Caſtelnau*, the Count *de Milly*, the Cadet *Scoupe*, and *Monbau*: This, as being capable to be the Geographer of the Country, wherein he had lived above twenty Years; thoſe, as Perſons fit not only to give Counſel, but alſo to execute the Counſel they ſhould have given. There it was propoſed what was to be done; whether it were more expedient to paſs on further, or to retire, whereunto the Duke of

*Luxen-*

*Luxemburg* ſeemed to incline, becauſe *Genlis* had failed of his Word. As this Council was wholly compoſed of young Men, except *Mombas*, they were all of opinion to go on, and *Mombas* conformed himſelf to their Sentiment, becauſe that he would have been alone of his own. Whilſt theſe things were doing, the Count *de la Mark*, Camp-Maſter of the Regiment of *Picardy*, who commanded in *Wordes*, diſpatch'd a Man to the Duke of *Luxemburg* with Letters, whereby he informed him, that the Prince of *Orange* had already raiſed two Forts at the Head of the Inundation, whereof the one was guarded by the Count *de Horne*, General of the Artillery; and the other by *Zuileſtein*, General of the Foot: And ſince the Succour muſt arrive by one of theſe two ways, the Duke of *Luxemburg* ask'd *Mombas*, With which he thought it would be beſt dealing, whether with the Count *de Horne*, or *Zuileſtein*? *Mombas*, glad that he could ſpeak, which did not very often befall him, told the Duke of *Luxem-*

*burg*, that it was his Advice to attack *Zuileſtein*, becauſe he would ſometimes drink hard, and did not ſtand ſo much upon his Guard as the Count *de Horne* might, who did not ſleep, but was always upon the Watch.

The Duke of *Luxemburg* having reſolved to follow this Counſel, not that he grounded himſelf upon what *Mombas* had told him, but becauſe it was indifferent to him to attack *Horne* or *Zuileſtein*, march'd his Troops upon the Cauſey which goes from *Utrecht* to *Wordes*, having the Canal of *Wordes* on the one hand, and the Meadows on the other, but which wholly reſembled a Sea, becauſe they had already for ſome time been all under Water. When he was about half a League from the Enemy, he made an halt to ſend to view the Place, before he engaged any farther. Every one expected, that *Mombas* would ask to go thither, as well to give Marks of his Courage, as to ſhew his Zeal to Mr. *de Luxemburg*: but whether he feared that he would not put confidence enough in him,

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to refer himſelf to what he ſhould ſay; or whether he were not willing to engage himſelf as a private Souldier, he let this Employ be taken by two Sergeants, who were named by the Count *de Saux*, and for whoſe Bravery and Fidelity he anſwered to Mr. *de Luxemburg*.

Theſe Souldiers by favour of the Night advanced within Musket-ſhot of the Fort of *Zuileſtein*; but well knowing that unleſs they got farther, they could not give any certain Account of what was deſired to be known, they caſt themſelves into the Inundation, one on one ſide, and the other on the other ſide; and making the leaſt Noiſe they poſſibly could, for fear of being diſcover'd, they remark'd that there was a Mill before the Fort, where they had ſome Retrenchments, and had put ſome Palizadoes; that in the Inundation there was an Houſe, wherein they had placed ſome Musquetiers, which flanked the Fort, that when the Enemies ſhould go to the Attack, they might thence kill them many Men: In fine,

that the Fort was of Earth, but well palizadoed with a Ditch before, and Cannon; ſo that tho they had not much time to put it in condition, there was appearance nevertheleſs that they would make good reſiſtance.

After the two Sergeants had related what I have juſt now told you, Mr. *de Luxemburg*, foreſeeing that they would kill him many Men from the Houſe, which was in the midſt of the Inundation, reſolv'd to cauſe it to be attack'd, and alſo went thither himſelf to animate the Souldiers by his Preſence. In the mean time he made a Detachment to march againſt the Mill, and having appointed Men to ſupport it, he commanded thoſe that were near him to go into the Inundation, to ſhew the way to the Troops. *Mombas* being one of the firſt that entred into it, had not gone above five or ſix ſteps, when he called out to Mr. *de Luxemburg*, that there was not much Water, and that he might ſecurely come in. Mr. *de Luxemburg* believed him, but having a moment after made a falſe Step,

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every one began to cry out that *Mombas* was a Traitor; and that after he had betrayed the *Hollanders*, amongſt whom he durſt no longer ſhew his Head, he endeavoured to regain their Favour, by deſtroying the Troops of *France* with their General. To theſe Reproaches were added Threats, and to the Threats alſo ſome Blows; ſo that the Duke of *Luxemburg* not being able to remove this Impreſſion out of their Minds, which were ſtrongly ſeized therewith, gave command to *Mombas* to retire near him; but as he would not entirely ruine his Honour, he took a Pretext of ſending him to carry Orders to the Troops which marched againſt the Mill: after which he continued his way under another Guide.

The Minds of the Souldiers being by this means quieted, every one continued to march in the Rank wherein he had been put; and the Houſe being attack'd at the ſame time with the Mill, thoſe that were within, were hindred from thinking

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to take the Enemy in the Flank, to provide for their own Defence. The Reſiſtance was great both in the Mill and in the Fort; but the *French* having attack'd them ſo much the more vigorouſly, took both the one and the other, and ſet them on fire, to the end, as I believe, they might have the pleaſure of hearing it ſaid, that they had not only ſurmounted the Waters by their Courage, but triumphed alſo over that Element by a contrary. However it were, it was notwithſtanding a thing which coſt them dear: for *Zuileſtein*'s Men, who had till that time ſhot at random, having then the Flame which ſerved them for a Guide, ſcarce made any Shot afterwards which had not effect, eſpecially the Cannoniers, who henceforward charged only with Cartridges. This began to put the Enemy in great diſorder, and in fine, it was to be believed, that they would not only have been rebutted thereby, but alſo forced to betake themſelves to flight, had not Mr. *de Luxemburg* come to reaſſure them; he put himſelf

ſelf at their Head, and having encouraged them by his Example, every one obſerved him as if nothing had happened. *Milly*, who had the Vant-Guard, with the Regiment of *Normandy*, whereof he was Colonel, caſt himſelf into the Retrenchments of *Zuileſtein* with abundance of Courage; but as he endeavoured to break a Palizado, that he might get farther, he received a Shot in the Thigh, whereof he died a ſhort time after. The Misfortune of *Milly* did not at all aſtoniſh thoſe that were commanded to ſecond him; but having broken the Palizadoes, they took the Fort by Aſſault, in the defence whereof *Zuileſtein* loſt his Life, after he had done all that could be expected from a gallant Man. *Mombas* would vaunt that it was he who kill'd him, becauſe he believ'd what paſſed during the Night could not have been obſerved; but the Count *de Saux*, who had to do with him, teſtified, that it was a Sergeant of his Regiment to whom alſo he held himſelf obliged, not knowing what

Iſſue

Iſſue he ſhould have had of that Affair, if he had not come to his Aſſiſtance.

Thus was *Wordes* relieved with much reputation to Mr. *de Luxemburg*, but with little ſatisfaction to abundance of Officers, who ſignalized themſelves there, and amongſt others to the Count *de Milly*: For the Duke of *Luxemburg* having forgotten, whether through Deſign or Chance, to ſpeak of him in the particular Account he ſent to the King. *Milly* was ſo diſcontented thereat, that his Wound, which was already but too dangerous, grew daily worſe and worſe; he told all thoſe that came to ſee him, that the Duke of *Luxemburg* had ruined his Honour for his whole Life; and that his Life being thus a Burthen to him, the moſt favourable thing that could befall him was to die quickly. The Prince of *Conde*, having knowledg of theſe things by ſome body that ſent him word thereof, writ at the ſame time to *Milly*, for whom he had a great eſteem, That he was to blame, to lay ſo much

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to heart a thing which the Duke of *Luxemburg* had done without design; that all *France* was perſuaded of his Gallantry; and that he was himſelf ready to render account thereof to the whole World, as having often ſeen him manifeſt it upon occaſions. *Milly* read this Letter with incredible Joy, told every one that the Prince of *Conde* had reſtored him his Honour, and thruſting it between his two Night-caps, ſuffered it not to be taken from him, till he had given up the Ghoſt.

I had moreover forgotten to mention a thing which happened at the Relief of *Wordes*, and which ſhews how little diſtance there is ſometimes between Victory and Defeat. After the taking of the Fort of *Zuileſtein*, there was a certain Report ſpread among the *French*, that there was yet another Fort between *Wordes* and the Army; and there appeared ſo great a Conſternation thereat amongſt the Souldiers, that every one demanded rather to return than to go any farther. The Duke of *Luxemburg* himſelf

ſelf, not over-well knowing what he had to do, conſulted the principal Officers of his Army; and they having declared to him that nothing was to be precipitated, before they were ſure of what they apprehended, made him reſolve to ſend to know the Truth. The Duke of *Luxemburg* choſe for this purpoſe a Perſon that I could eaſily name if I would, in whom he had very great confidence, but who nevertheleſs anſwered not what every one expected of him; for having met in the way with *la Palme*, Lieutenant-Colonel of the *Holland*-Regiment of the Marine, whom the Count *de Horne* ſent to aſſiſt *Zuileſtein*, not yet knowing that he had loſt both his Fort and his Life, he cowardly turned back, and came to tell the Duke of *Luxemburg*, that all that had been told him was true, that there was yet another Fort, and that he could not arrive at *Wordes*, without taking that firſt. One cannot imagine the Terror that he ſtruck into the Troops by this News, which ſo well confirmed what they already appre-

apprehended. The Duke of *Luxemburg* thereupon aſſembled the Council of War, and every one was of opinion to hazard nothing more, whereon the Duke of *Luxemburg* himſelf concluded, well knowing that he could lay all the Fault upon the Marqueſs de *Genlis*, for not keeping his Word with him. But as they were upon the point to execute this Reſolution, two Horſemen, whom the Count *de la Mark* had detached to know what hindred the Succour from entring the Town, arrived from *Wordes*, and quieted their Minds, by the aſſurance they gave them, that this new Fort was but a Caſtle in the Air. Every one after this no longer doubting, they began to ſpeak ill of him that had been ſent to ſearch into it; but he having the Protection of Mr. *de Luxemburg*, this paſs'd not the Camp, and the General took no care to give the Court advice thereof, which would have cauſed this Officer to be caſhier'd.

Mr. *de Luxemburg* dealt not in the ſame manner with Mr. *de Genlis*, who

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was exiled; but as he excuſed himſelf upon the Impoſſibility of getting his Troops together in ſo ſhort a time as Mr. *de Luxemburg* had aſſigned him, his Exile laſted not long, and he ſerved again ſoon after as if nothing had been.

But let us paſs over in ſilence ſo many other Evenements, wherein Fortune was ſometimes favourable, and ſometimes contrary to the *French*, let us ſay only, That their Conduct was ſo pitiful, that altho they entred into the Field with an Army of above Sixſcore Thouſand Men, and had not loſt above Two Thouſand of them, their Forces were nevertheleſs ſo ſeparated by reaſon of their greedineſs to keep their Conqueſts, that this opened the way to the *Hollanders* to reconquer their Country, were they but never ſo little aſſiſted by their Neighbours.

Amongſt thoſe that animated them to do ſomething that might be glorious, the *Spaniards* ſhewed themſelves moſt affectionate, not only through the Antipathy they naturally have

have againſt the *French*, but alſo through the Inſults they daily received from them: For their Armies encamped indifferently upon the Territories of *Spain*, and thoſe of the *Hollanders*, their Commanders not being concerned at their giving occaſion of Complaint to a Nation, which they eſteemed feeble, and not in condition to reſent it. The Prince of *Orange*, who by the Death of *de Witt*, ſacrificed by the People, that imputed to him all the Misfortunes which were come upon the State, had been elevated to a ſupreme Grandure, ſought nothing on his ſide, but to keep up by ſome great Action the Eſteem the People had conceived of his Perſon. For this purpoſe he preſs'd the Count *de Monterey*, Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, to declare himſelf; but he ſtill recoiled back, whether he was diſtruſtful of the Succeſs, or rather becauſe they could not agree together on what ſide to turn their Arms, each of them deſiring that it ſhould be on that ſide which was favourable to

them-

themſelves. In the mean while, ſince it was of conſequence not to loſe Time, which is never recovered, and eſpecially in War, where there needs but one only moment to change all, they agreed at the laſt to attack *Charleroy*, which was advantagious both to the one and the other: becauſe that if the *Spaniards* by that means delivered themſelves from a Place, which gives the *French* entrance into their Country; the *Hollanders*, on their ſide, ſecured their Frontiers, which could not be attack'd, if they once made themſelves Maſters of that Place, becauſe it was there that the Enemies made all their Magazines, and aſſembled all their Convoys. Thereby alſo they might hope, that they ſhould not only thenceforward have more facility to make War, but alſo that the *French* would be obliged to abandon their Conqueſts, becauſe that not having any longer the means to lay Siege to *Maeſtricht*, without which they could not probably hope to make ſo many Places ſubſiſt, all theſe Places would be loſt of them-

themſelves, the Country not being ſufficient to furniſh them with Neceſſaries.

Things being with ſo much prudence, as it ſeemed, concerted, there remained nothing more but to execute them with diſcretion, which the Prince of *Orange* did on his ſide; but there was much to be ſaid, that he was not ſeconded by the *Spaniards*, as he ought, and they had promiſed him. Nevertheleſs, for his own part, after he had ſpread a Report in his Army, that he would go to *Tongres*, and *Maſeik*, for to diſingage *Maeſtricht*, which was block'd up by the means of theſe two Places above and below the *Meuſe*, (for tho *Tongres* be not upon this River, yet ſince it is not far from it, it wrought the ſame Effect as if it had been thereon) he obliged *Montal*, Governor of *Charleroy*, to put himſelf into *Tongres*, after which he marched againſt *Charleroy*, which was deſtitute of the preſence of its Governor, and wherein beſides there was but a very weak Garriſon.

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The Surprize of *France* was extraordinary at this Rencounter. This seemed to her not to be the Essay of a young Prince, who could not yet have much Experience, but on the contrary, the Master-Stroke of a Captain grown perfect in the Trade. In the mean time, as the Loss of this Place would draw with it strange Consequences for her, besides that she gave Order to all the Garrisons thereabout to march speedily to its Relief, all the Gallants of the Court took Post to have their part in the Glory. But there was no need for their making so much haste, all the Success of the Affair could consist only in an extraordinay Diligence, which should have obliged the *Spaniards*, that were upon the Place, to have had all things ready for the Siege. But as they are naturally slow, the Cannon arrived not till two days after the Place was invested; so that having thereby given time to the Troops to draw together, and to *Montal* to get into the Town, they were forced to raise the Siege, and

to carry away as much Shame from this Enterprize, as there was Honour to be gotten by it.

From this time the Prince of *Orange* saw how little ground there was to build any thing upon the Word of the *Spaniards*, who have ſince continued to do always the ſame thing: For do we not know, that in all the Fights wherein they have been found, they rather brought Diſorder than Succour? Were they not found at the Battel of *Senef*, pillaging the Baggage of their Allies? and were they not obliged to hang a very ſufficient Number of them to give Example unto others? But that wherein their Weakneſs wholly appeared, was in the Excuſes they made to *France*, immediately after the unhappy Succeſs of the Siege of *Charleroy*; for the Council of *Spain* not only diſavowed the Count *de Monterey*, but offered alſo to recall him from his Government, for to appeaſe *France*, which made a great Noiſe for his having thus dared to take Arms. In the mean time, they would not have the

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*Spaniards* think of repelling Force by Force, which it was nevertheleſs to little purpoſe for them to do, there being ſuch a Malediction upon them, that they ſeem to bring Misfortune upon thoſe that take their part.

In the time that all this paſs'd, Mr. *de Brandenburg* was at the Head of his Army, five and twenty thouſand ſtrong, always expecting that the Emperor would bring his into the Field, which was held for moſt certain, after he had ſo ſolemnly taken the Reſolution to do it in the Pilgrimage of *Marienzel*: But he was very much ſurprized to underſtand that this Prince had changed his Sentiment, being prevented by the ſtrong Alarms given by the Jeſuits, who had, as I have already ſaid, but too much power over his Mind. This then obliged the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg* on his ſide to think of making his Accommodation with *France*, whoſe Forces were ſuperior to his. He could not probably flatter himſelf with the hopes of an happy Succeſs, when thoſe who had

had moſt powerfully excited him to take Arms, thus turned their back upon him: for altho he had been at firſt ſollicited thereunto by the *Hollanders*, the Houſe of *Auſtria* in ſuch manner joined her ſelf to their Solllicitations, that one would have ſaid, that her own Intereſts were more concerned therein than the Intereſt of her Neighbours. Which, in the mean time, afforded great matter of Admiration to thoſe who made reflection on paſt and preſent things; for they were wholly aſtoniſhed to ſee, that a Nation which had ſo far hated another, as ſeveral times to have cauſed the Heads thereof to be aſſaſſinated, ſhould be ſo much changed, that ſhe ſhould her ſelf go to ſeek Aſſiſtance in the Courts of Princes, for thoſe whom ſhe had by all manner of ways endeavoured to oppreſs. But if they had occaſion to be at that time aſtoniſhed, they would have much more to be ſo now, in ſeeing what at preſent paſſes: For if we will make but never ſo little Reflection on the Conduct of the *Spaniards*, is it not an

amazing thing, that they ſhould be obliged at this day to have recourſe to the ſame *Hollanders*, to whom they had ſo often ſerved for Executioners; and that after having ſo many times in vain endeavoured to exterminate them, they ſhould at preſent be conſtrained to acknowledg, that they ſubſiſt only by their Succour? In effect, there is not any one ſo blind, as not to ſee that it is the *Hollanders* to whom the Safety of *Flanders* is at this day due, and that, were it not for them, the *French* had long ſince made themſelves Maſters thereof.

The Accommodation of the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg* with *France* was none of the moſt difficult to make: For ſince *France* demanded nothing but that none ſhould concern themſelves with the Affairs of the *Hollanders*, ſhe gave order to Mr. *de Turenne*, who lay a little hard upon *Brandenburg*, to leave him in repoſe, on condition, as he offered, to continue Neuter during the War, provided the Places were reſtored to him, which *France* held from him in the

Dutchy

Dutchy of *Cleves*, as *Wesel*, and some other Places of less importance. This Accommodation being made upon these Conditions, Mr. *de Brandenburg* retired into his own Dominions, and Mr. *de Turenne* on this side the *Rhine*.

It thereby seemed that all sort of Succour was forbid the *Hollanders*. But as it often happens, that Things produce Effects wholly contrary to those for which they were done; so it happened, that what should have hastned the Ruine of the *United Provinces*, was what hastened their Preservation: For *France*, to secure her self for the future from such like Enterprizes, no longer kept any measure with any Prince of the Empire. She seized upon *Treves* and *Bonn*; and tho the Elector of *Cologne* seemed to consent to the Invasion of the last Place, it was nevertheless known that he was forced thereunto; and that if the Bishop of *Strasburg* had not had so much power over him, he had perhaps taken Resolutions more worthy his Birth, and more

conformable to his Intereſts. However it were, all the Princes of the Empire excited one another no longer to ſuffer *France* to encroach upon their Liberty. Only Madamoiſelle *de Savoy*, of whom I have ſpoken before, who was married to the Duke of *Bavaria*, having a great Influence over the Spirit of her Husband, and withal remembring the Amity which the *French* King had heretofore teſtified to her, was very glad to ſhew him ſome Marks of her Acknowledgment upon this occaſion; for ſhe hindred *Bavaria* from entring into the League which was forming againſt *France*, on condition nevertheleſs that the Dauphin ſhould marry her Daughter.

This League made the Affairs of the *French* change their Face. The Emperor, preſs'd by ſo many Princes, made himſelf Head of this League. And as *Brandenburg* had not made his Treaty, but that he ſaw himſelf abandoned by every Body; ſo he no ſooner ſaw that all the reſt entred into the Liſts againſt *France*, but he him-

himself resolved also to make one amongst them.

One of the first Objects of this League's Arms was the Siege of *Bonne*, by the Conquest whereof not only *Germany* was delivered from French Slavery, but also the Towns which that Crown had the foregoing Campaign gotten from the *Hollanders*: For as they received thereby both Ammunition and Victuals, which they could not have by the *Meuse*, where the *Spaniards* held *Charlemont* and *Namur*, they were forced to think of abandoning them, and that before the Army of the Allies, which was numerous, should seize on the Passages, and thereby hinder the return of the Garrisons. Mr. *de Luxemburg*, who was the farthest in the Country, where he had signalized himself by unheard-of Cruelties, especially at the taking of *Snammerdam* and *Bodegrave*, was the first who received Orders to retire. He speedily obeyed them, well knowing, that being so hated of the People as he was, it would not be secure for him

to ſtay there, if Fortune were once contrary to *France*. But the Mareſcal *de Belleſonds*, having ſhewn himſelf a little more ſtiff, becauſe he thought this Command not conformable to the King's Intereſts, deſerv'd to be exiled for offering to penetrate farther into the matter than they would have him.

Theſe happy Succeſſes were ballanced by the Loſs which the Allies made of the Town of *Maeſtricht*, and of *Franche Comté*, a Province appertaining to the *Spaniards*, who were alſo entred into the League, but had not made it much ſtronger thereby: for they had neither Forces nor Diſcipline, and yet their Vanity went ſo far, as to deſire to be eſteemed the Soul of the Party; but if it had been ſo, it would have been a Party, whoſe Soul was upon its Lips juſt ready to depart.

I will not, as I have already ſaid, relate all the different Succeſſes of the War: for beſides that it would be to engage my ſelf in a Labour which I ſhould never get out of with honour, for

for the Reasons I have before alledged, what use would it be of to this Work, the Aim whereof is only to shew the Enterprizes and Insincerity of *France*, since her aspiring to the Universal Monarchy? I shall say nevertheless by the way, That if she had more Felicity than Infelicity, during the course of this War, it was because our Union was an ill-united Union, every Prince minding his own particular Interests, and little caring for the common Interest.

In effect, would they have believed the deceased Duke of *Lorrain*, who was without doubt a great Captain, tho unfortunate, they would neither have lost *Franche Comté*, nor have had all the Misfortunes which attend it: For instead of going to make War in *Alsatia*, as they did, they should have gone strait into *Lorrain*, where all the Gentry attended him, ready to take Horse for his Service, have pass'd from thence to *Franche Comté*, established there the Seat of the War, and carried the Terror of their Arms into the Heart of *France*,

where they might have made Inroads when they would. Thereby they would have obliged the Enemies to keep a great Army in the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, and they would have fed upon themſelves, whereas they ate up the Allies, who were obliged, as we ſay, to lay the Cloth for them, the Emperor by his Authority cauſing the War to be carried into *Alſatia*; for through the ſame Reaſons perhaps, which are eaſily gueſs'd, and not neceſſary to be here related, that inclined the Duke of *Lorrain* to deſire that the War ſhould be made in his Country, the Emperor deſired they ſhould conquer *Alſatia*, which was a Fief of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, that had been yielded to *France* by the Peace of *Munſter*. However it were, Experience ſhewed, that whatever proſpect the Duke of *Lorrain* might have therein, he ſtill reaſoned like a great Captain; whereas the Emperor reaſoned neither like a Captain nor Politician: For at leaſt, when he carried the War on another ſide, he ought to have aſſured himſelf

ſelf how he might ſuccour *Franche Comté*, in caſe it ſhould be attack'd; but he had ſo little provided for it, that when the French Army was entred thereinto, he began to negotiate with the *Suiſſes*, to move whom employing only Words, inſtead of other Means to which they are known to yield, they would never open the Paſſages, ſhewing therein as much Brutiſhneſs, if I may be permitted to ſay ſo, as Intereſt.

The Loſs of this fair Province drew after it very pernicious Conſequences: For the Duke of *Lorrain*, who ſaw that he had thereby loſt all hopes of ever re-entring into his Country, entirely detached himſelf from the Party, I mean as to his Inclination, for to outward appearance he continued ſtill with them, not knowing perhaps whither to go for to be better: And certainly I ſhall hereupon relate things, which every one perhaps doth not ſo well know as my ſelf. In effect, there are many who know not, that after the taking of *Franche Comté*, the Duke of *Lor-*

*rain* ſent to the French Court a Gentleman, who had been heretofore his Page, named, as I take it, *Cevillette*, to offer to abandon the Party, if they would permit him to retire either into *France* or *Lorrain*, during the War, give him Appointments ſuitable to a Prince of his Birth, and put him into poſſeſſion of his Country at the making of the Peace, on the Conditions that had been propoſed long before the War, whereof it would be ſuperfluous to ſpeak here, becauſe this regards not my purpoſe.

Now tho all theſe Conditions did not any way pleaſe *France*, ſhe ceaſed not to hearken to the ſecret Envoy of the Duke of *Lorrain*, as if ſhe had an Inclination to favour his Maſter; ſhe anſwered him, That ſhe was glad to ſee that he was re-entred into his true Intereſts, but that, for certain Conſiderations, it was impoſſible for her at preſent to hearken to his Offers: Firſt, becauſe ſhe had a care of his Honour, which thoſe that ſerved him would not fail to blemiſh, if in the height of the War,

as

as it then was, he alone should stand still, and look on what pass'd in *Europe*. Nevertheless, if his Intention were really to attach himself to *France*, he should begin to withdraw his Son, the Duke of *Vaudemont*, out of the hands of the *Spaniards*; after which they would soon agree upon the Pensions he demanded, and upon an Equivalent for the Dutchy of *Lorrain*, or upon Conditions to restore him to his States. Now they would not wholly break with him, by rejecting his Propositions, which were altogether ridiculous, considering the State wherein things then were; nor yet entirely rebut him: for by rebutting him, they should make him an irreconcileable Enemy, which was not agreeable to Policy, because they knew not in what manner things might turn. And by accommodating with him, they would have done themselves a notable Prejudice, for many reasons: First, because if he was once retired into *France*, he was a Spirit capable to excite the People to Sedition, and

put

put himſelf at their Head, which was more to be feared by the Court, than whatever elſe could befall them. Secondly, Becauſe they pretended to hold commerce with him, and by that means diſcover all that paſs'd in the Army of the Allies. And in fine, becauſe being ſuſpected, as he already was, by his own Party, where he thought nothing well done, eſpecially ſince the Loſs of *Franche Comte*, he created there Diſtruſts and Jealouſies amongſt the Princes, to whom he did not ceaſe to remonſtrate, that the War was not made for them, but for the Emperor; that he ſpake not for his own Intereſt, altho what was befallen him, was ſufficient enough to render them wiſe at his Coſts; but let them conſider only in what manner the Elector *Palatine* was treated, who thinking to remove the War from his Country, had quitted the Alliance with *France*, for to enter into their Union; that he was eaten up by the one and the other, perſecuted by the Garriſon of *Philipsburg*, without having been able thitherto to

oblige

oblige the Emperor to lay Siege unto it, altho it were one of the Conditions of his Treaty, and that because the Emperor was by the same Treaty obliged to restore that Place to the Bishop of *Spire*, to whom it belonged before the *French* got it; that as much hangs over their Heads, if, as the Emperor acted only for his own Interests, they did not also on their side mind their own Affairs; that in all respects a good Peace was much better than a War, all the Profit whereof ought to fall upon one alone, and all the Loss upon others.

As *France* therefore well knew what his Discontent was capable to produce, she would not conclude any thing with him, but entertained him however with fair hopes. Some time after arrived the Affair of *Treves*, I mean the routing of the Mareschal *de Crequi*, which raised the Affairs of the Confederates to so high a pitch, that they seemed as if they were about to penetrate even into the Heart of *France*. But he that had caused the Evil, soon brought the Remedy,

I mean the Duke of *Lorrain*: For after he had gained the Battel, and said before every Body, that it was now that he would go as far as *Paris*, a secret Interposer from *France*, who resided in *Treves*, that he might upon occasion be near him, being introduced unto him by *Covilette*, who was but just delivered out of the hands of the *French*, with whom he had been Prisoner, whether by chance or upon design, beat down all these fair Resolutions with Bills of Exchange for two hundred thousand Crowns, which were paid at *Hamburg*, and which the Duke of *Lorrain* left in the hands of a Merchant, because he was not of that humour as not to make advantage of his Money. And this it was that made Mr. *de Louvois* speak so boldly in the presence of all the Court, that if the Confederates had gained a great Victory, they should not draw thence so much Profit as was pretended, because instead of advancing into *France*, they would return to the Siege of *Treves*, and thence

thence into their Quarters. In effect, this was the Pretext that the Duke of *Lorrain* took, saying, That it was no point of good Sence to engage themselves so far into a Country, and leave behind them so good Places; that the Scope of their Union was only to deliver *Germany* from Slavery, which they could no way better do, than by driving the *French* out of a Town, which was not only considerable for its Scituation, but also for being the ordinary Abode of one of the first Electors of the Empire.

The News that came a day or two after, that the Mareschal *de Crequi* was got into *Treves*, finished the giving a colour to his Designs. He remonstrated to those who were not of his Opinion, that the Presence of such a Man was not to be contemned, who besides that he perfectly knew the Trade of War; was also animated by the Despair of what had befallen him. In effect, he fought as a true Desperado; and if a Captain of Foot, named *Baisjourdan*, had not

treated

treated ſecretly with the Beſiegers, to put the Place into their hands, upon certain Conditions whereunto many others alſo conſented, either this Mareſchal would have been ſlain upon the Breach, or he would have ſhewn whereof a brave Man is capable, when animated by a great Deſpair. But as he was upon the Rampart, exciting every one to do his Devoir, *Boisjourdan* had the inſolence to tell him, That it was in vain for him to animate them to a Defence, more raſh than reaſonable; that every one knew what made him act, that it was the Deſpair of having been beaten; but that, ſince they were no cauſe thereof, it was for him to draw himſelf out of it as he could, without enveloping them in his Misfortune; that the Town was of it ſelf nothing worth; that the Walls were beſides beaten down by the Cannon, the Enemy lodged even in the Ditch, and in fine, every thing ready to take it by Aſſault, if they had not remedied it in Time and Place; that ſince they well believed, that for the

the Reaſons he had touched upon, he would never hear ſpeak of Compoſition, they had taken care to do it without him, and that he had it in his Pocket; that it was his part then to conform to a thing, which, beſide that it was already done, was alſo done with reaſon.

Never perhaps has ſuch another Affair been heard of. It was indeed very extraordinary to ſee, that a ſimple Captain of Foot had thus treated of the Surrendry of a Place, to the prejudice of a Mareſchal of *France* who was therein, and ſo many other Officers his Superiors. The Mareſchal *de Crequi* alſo, finding himſelf ſo much the more moved, as the thing appeared to him new, put his hand to his Sword at the beginning of his Diſcourſe, and as he was going to kill him, a Souldier who ſtood Sentinel ſtopt him, by offering to fire upon him. This cauſed the Mareſchal *de Creqni* to leave *Boiſjourdan*, and paſs his Sword through the Body of the Souldier; which done, he ran again after *Boisjourdan*, who

who seeing that he had to deal with so rude a Gamester, leapt through the Breach into the Ditch, thinking to save himself among the Imperialists; by whom being despised, as a Man unworthy, after what he had done, to keep company with honest Persons, he would have pass'd into the furthest parts of *Germany*: But being discovered, as I take it, at *Thionville*, he was conducted from thence to *Metz*, where by Sentence of the Council of War he had his Head struck off, a very gentle Punishment for so great a Crime as his.

In the mean time the Enemy, who was at the Gates, failed not to take hold of so favourable an Opportunity to make themselves Masters of the Town. They entred immediately, and the Mareschal *de Crequi* had scarce time to save himself in the Church, which was good enough, and where he pretended to make yet some resistance. They summoned him there to sign the Composition which *Boisjourdan* had made; for the Confederates would keep to it, wherefore they had

had given Order that there ſhould no injury be done either to the Garriſon, or Inhabitants. But the Mareſchal, not willing that ſo ſhameful an Affair ſhould be hereafter imputed to him, refuſed to do it, but in the mean time agreed with *Saveuſe*, Colonel of Horſe, who had eſcaped with him after the Defeat, and had ſince followed his Fortune, that he ſhould ſign the Capitulation, to the end that having his Liberty, he might go to Court, to give an account of his Actions; for he was in great diſquiet, how they would receive there what had ſince this little while befallen him. *Saveuſe*, who was intirely devoted to the Mareſchal, failed not to execute his Orders, whilſt he on his ſide endeavoured to obtain an honeſt Compoſition; but ſince the Poſt where he was, was not tenable, he was obliged to yield upon Diſcretion.

Theſe happy Evenements for the Confederates, with what befell them alſo advantagious in *Catalonia*, where the *French* had been defeated in open Field,

Field, after they had given a Battel without Order and Diſcipline, ought to have been followed with many other great Succeſſes; if the Duke of *Lorrain*, who, as I have already ſaid, was prepoſſeſt with Jealouſy, had not alſo prepoſſeſt others therewith. Thus inſtead of drawing thence the Advantage which they might have probably hoped for, they had the vexation to ſee that all this turned to Smoke; whereas the Enemy, dextrouſly profiting by our Diſcords, made every day new Conqueſts, the Loſs whereof in the mean time fell always upon *Spain*, becauſe it was on that ſide that they made their principal Enterprizes.

But to finiſh the beating down of this Crown, the Town of *Meſſina*, chief of the Realm of *Sicily*, revolted againſt it, induced thereto by the terrible Exactions of their Viceroys, whoſe Friends had always hindred the Complaints that People made againſt them from coming to the Ears of the Sovereign; for in fine, it is a Cuſtom eſtabliſhed amongſt the Gran-

Grandees of *Spain* to ſupport one another; ſo that whatever becomes thereby of the Preſervation of the State, it is all conſidered as nothing at what time their Intereſt comes in competition with it. And this it is which makes that Crown, altho it poſſeſs ſo many rich States and Countries of great Extent, to be at this day nevertheleſs poorer than a little Prince, who ſhould not poſſeſs above the hundredth part of what it poſſeſſeth. In effect, without going any farther, what is *Holland*, in compariſon of all *Spain*, of the Kingdoms of *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*, the State of *Milan*, and ſo many others, that I ſhould never have done if I would ſpecify them all? In the mean time, what doth not *Holland* at this time do? And is it not ſhe that might at this day ſave all *Europe*, if ſhe would unanimouſly employ all her Forces? But to return to *Meſſina*; the Revolt thereof not only drew a new War on that ſide, through the Protection which *France* gave that Town, but alſo put a great deal of Diſorder in the

the Affairs of the *Spaniards*, who were obliged haſtily to withdraw their Troops from *Catalonia*, and ſend them into *Italy*. By this means the *French* finding themſelves Maſters in *Catalonia*, retook *Bellegarde* which they had loſt, pillaged all the Country from the *Pyrenean* Mountains even beyond *Gironne*; and had they had a deſign of making themſelves Maſters thereof, as well as of many other Places, there is a great appearance that nothing could have hindred them: But not being willing to eſtabliſh themſelves beyond theſe high Mountains, which Nature ſeems to have put for a Separation between the two Realms, they contented themſelves with the Prey they had got, and let the People feather themſelves every Winter, to the end they might plume them every Spring.

Altho the War of *Meſſina* was of very great conſequence, yet ſhould I not croſs the Seas to ſeek a Subject for this Work, were it not that I ſhall at the ſame time find a fair matter to prove the Unfaithfulneſs of the

*French.*

*French.* They sent thither at first the Marquess *de Vallavoir*, a Gentleman of *Provence*, not in quality of a Viceroy, but with a Command equal thereunto, so that he wanted nothing but the Name. He behaved himself in this Charge, during the space of eighteen Months, or thereabouts, with great satisfaction to the People, to whom he caused at his Arrival to be delivered *gratis* a quantity of Corn, which had been brought from *France*, and whereof the *Messineses* could never have more need; for they had already a long time eaten Horses, Rats, Mice, and other unclean Animals, their best Repasts being only of these sorts of things, with a few ill-tasted Herbs when they could get them. But at the end of that time, *Vallavoir* having had a Difference with the Intendant, because they would both rob without sharing one with another, was revoked, and the Duke *de Vvonne* sent in his place, who brought into that Country a greater Name, but a less Sufficiency. He came thither with the quality of

a Viceroy, which ſo much the more pleaſed the People, as they believed that this would oblige *France* to do ſomething more than ſhe had hitherto done, to diſengage ſo conſiderable a Town, which was ſtill ſo cloſely block'd up, that it received no other Succour to live upon, but what came to it from *France*.

As ſoon as the Duke was in the Town, he put all his Authority into the hands of his Secretary, took care to make proviſion of all ſorts of good Wines, enquired where were the faireſt Courtizans, cauſed a Chair to be made, wherein he might ſleep commodiouſly as he was carried along; and in fine, forgot nothing whereby he might keep himſelf as portly as when he came thither. At the beginning, when he paſs'd along the Streets, every one extolled his Civility, becauſe they obſerved him from time to time to bow down and lift up his Head, like a Man that would ſalute ſome-body; but at laſt, a Perſon having obſerved that it was becauſe he ſlept, and having ſhewn it

to

to others, there was no more ſuch preſſing to ſee him paſs along the way, which was very commodious for him, becauſe he was not very deſirous that it ſhould be always known whither he went.

Notwithſtanding the Refreſhments which *Meſſina* from time to time received from *France*, it is impoſſible to ſay to what miſery it was reduced. There needed no more but to give bread, to have the richeſt Goods in the Town. Husbands there proſtituted their Wives, Fathers their Daughters, Brothers their Siſters, and there was not ſo much as the Superiors of Nunneries, but endeavoured to ſubſiſt by the Intrigue of ſome handſom religious Woman. But the Hatred which the Inhabitants had conceived of the *Spaniards*, was ſo ſtrongly imprinted in their Mind, that all languiſhing and dying as they were, they choſe rather their Miſeries, than to return under their Dominion. They let themſelves then be amuſed by the frivolous hope, which the Viceroy from time to time gave them, that he would

ſoon go open the Paſſages; but they were other Paſſages that he thought on, which had in the mean time ſo ill treated him, that they had brought him to his Litter.

The Officers, according to the Example of their Chief, led not a more glorious Life. The Chevalier Duke, General of the Horſe, made good proviſion of theſe ſorts of Paſſages; and tho he were above five and fifty years old, yet muſt he have no leſs than four, ſo much fear had he of wanting. For the Commander of the Foot, as he brought with him out of *France* not a Preſervative againſt all ſorts of Evil, but an Evil worſe than all the Evils of *Italy*, he took of them where-ever he could find them, well knowing that worſe could not befall him.

The Sea-Officers followed the Example of the Land-ones; and if they viſited their Veſſels, it was only to bring aboard them lewd Women. It was in the mean time impoſſible that *France* ſhould not have knowledg of theſe ſorts of Diſorders, but

but the Duke *de Vivonne* held her by such sweet Bonds, that having committed the Fault to send him to *Messina* for a Viceroy, she had rather *Messina* should perish, than revoke this *Sardanapalus*.

In the mean time the War, which every day grew hotter and hotter in *Flanders* and *Germany*, had been so favourable to *France*, that the *English* Parliament being now assembled, they humbly addressed to their King, who had at the end of the second Campaign made Peace with *Holland*, That he would be pleased to recall the English Troops, which were in the service of the French King; whereunto they also added, That he would declare War against the *French*, unless they abandoned the Protection of *Messina*, which was an Obstacle to the Peace that had been so long talkt of. The King of *England*, tho a Friend to *France*, yet condescending to the Requests of his People, sent to the French King to demand the one and the other, if he would have him still continue his Friend. This

News was a Thunder-clap to *France*; but since she must, as we may say, either obey, or resolve upon War with *England*, she began to shew the Choice she would make, by already dismissing the *English* that were in her Service. But it was here that her Insincerity appeared in its full extent, whereof perhaps the King of *England* may yet one day testify his Resentment, when his People, whom the Fanatical Party amongst them had of late Years almost frighted into a Rebellion, with Dreams and Visions of Popery and Arbitrary Government, shall, which they begin apace to do, have regained their former Loyalty and Zeal for his Service. You shall know then, that the *English* being dismiss'd, instead of making them go to *Dunkirk* or *Calais*, from thence to pass to *Dover*, which was their right way, they were sent through *Burgundy*, through *Lionnois*, and so through the Provinces which lead to the Ports of *Guienne*, that they might have time to debauch the Officers and the Soldiers. In effect,

the Souldiers, who since their being in *France* had been accustomed to Wine, seeing themselves in a Country where 'tis almost as common as Water, would not cross the Sea to go and drink Beer, but took Pay under the Captains of the Army of *Catalonia*, who were for that purpose posted in their way. As for the Officers, all those that had nothing to lose in their own Country, were likewise debauched, and placed at the same time in the Regiment of *Furstemberg*, which was in Garrison at *Perpignan*. Thus when the *English* arrived at the place where they were to imbarque, they were not the tenth part of what they should have been, if *France* had dealt faithfully in the matter. But let us see whether she will keep Faith any better with those of *Messina*.

Being, as I have just now told you, necessitated either to abandon it, or to fall out with *England*, she had chosen the first; she was in the mean time at a very great stand, how to bring it about without the knowledg of the *Messineses*, who, had they

known it, would not have failed to renew the *Sicilian* Veſpers. To keep them then from knowing it, ſhe began to ſpread a Report, that ſhe would ſend into that Country another Perſon in the room of Mr. *de Vivonne*, inſomuch that a Merchant, who had heard it at *Rome*, having related it at *Meſſina*, was put in Priſon by the Order of the Viceroy, who was no way pleaſed with ſuch ſorts of News; but the Misfortune of the Merchant having more divulged the matter, every one was ſoon poſſeſs'd that there was a new Viceroy coming, and alſo that it was the Duke *de la Feuillade*.

Certainly altho I here blame *France* for her Diſſimulation, I ſhall not forbear praiſing this new General, who acted with ſo much Order and Diſcretion at his Arrival, that no-body entred into diſtruſt of that which brought him thither, and I can even ſay that there was not the leaſt ſuſpicion of it, till ſuch time as he was quite ready to ſet Sail. Before he arrived at *Meſſina*, he went aſhore at *Auguſta*,

*Augusta*, where *La Villedieu*, who had been Captain of the Guards, was Governor; whom not having found at home, because he was, like the rest, making love to a Nun, he took one of his Horses, rode round the Ramparts, ordered new Fortifications, and in fine, gave his Orders like a Man that knew how to do something else than eat, drink, and sleep; afterwards, without staying a moment, he again went aboard his Vessel, and having continued his course, came into the Road of *Messina*, whither the Jurats came in a Barque to receive him in Peace. The Duke *de Vivonne* came also to meet him upon the Harbor, where he gave him the right-hand, as having no longer any Authority in the Country. In effect, after he had dined with him, he went aboard a Vessel, set Sail for *Provence*, and endeavoured afterward to gain *Lions*, to get himself cured of a Malady, which began much to incommode him.

The Duke *de la Feuillade*, after he had discoursed with the Jurats, went

upon the Harbor, whither he had ſent for the Captains of the Gallies, whom he aſk'd, whether they were ready to put to Sea? And when they anſwered that they were not, he demanded what hindred them, and againſt what time they could be ready? And they telling him, that it was impoſſible for them to be ready in leſs than a Months time, the Duke *de la Feuillade*, who knew what kind of life they led, made them ſo ſevere a Reprimand, that they well ſaw they had another manner of Man to deal with than Mr. *de Vivonne*. He told them, they might do as they thought good, but if they were not ready in eight days, he would put the Oars to his Veſſels, and leave them to make love as long as they would. In the mean time, to cover this Haſte with ſome conſiderable Deſign, he cauſed a Map to be drawn of all the neighbouring Towns which appertained to the Enemies, as *Saragoſa*, *Melazzo*, *Palermo*, and *Sema*, ſpreading a report that he would ſoon march to reduce them.

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In the mean time, he ſware upon the Holy Goſpels in the Name of the King his Maſter, to protect the Country againſt all Perſons whatever, and to keep their Privileges; an Oath which nevertheleſs he ſoon after brake, as I will ſhew you in its place. The Ceremony of taking it was very fine, it was performed in the great Church, which they had hung with the richeſt Hangings in the Town, and whither the People came in ſo great a Croud, that they did not on that day think on their Miſery. The Streets alſo through which the Viceroy was to paſs, were hung, and Scaffolds erected every where to ſee him go: For tho he ſeemed to be come to deprive the Women of their Pleaſures, yet ſince it was nothing but their Miſery which made them do as they did, they look'd upon him however as the *Meſſias*, that was come to deliver every one from the Tyranny of Satan, I mean the Oppreſſion of the *Spaniards*. He obſerved, moreover, as he paſs'd along, that one of the Citizens, the more to ſhew his Zeal

for the Service of the Crown of *France*, had placed on the ſide of his Chamber-window a Canopy, under which was the Portrait of the King; and as he came back, he cauſed his Coach, wherein were the Jurats, to ſtop before that Houſe, and told them, That ſince they came from making him ſwear before GOD to protect them and all the People, and to keep their Privileges; he deſired, that they alſo ſhould ſwear before the Portraiture of the King his Maſter, which was there preſent, that they would keep all Fidelity to him, would never ſpeak of returning under the Dominion of *Spain*, and would cauſe to be ſeverely puniſhed, the firſt that ſhould be ſo bold as to mention any ſuch thing. At the ſame time theſe poor People, to whom an Interpreter had explicated what he ſaid, (for he ſpake no otherwiſe to the Jurats, not the Jurats to him) fell upon their Knees, and putting forth their hands out of the door of the Coach, ſware before the Portraiture of the King all he would have them ſwear.

This

This profound Diſſimulation produced all the Effect he expected from it; they were confirmed daily more and more by his Conduct, that he would be the Deliverer of the State. Thus as he perſiſted always in the Reſolution, as he ſaid, of beſieging *Saragoſa* or *Melazzo*, for he ſpake no more of *Palermo*, they not only ſuffered him to embarque Store of Victuals without ſuſpicion, but the Jurats alſo offered to encreaſe his Troops with ſome Companies of Citizens, if he thought he had not Forces ſufficient for ſo great a Deſign. When the Proviſions were imbarqued, he cauſed the Foot to go aboard the Veſſels, and there being now nothing to do but to withdraw the Hoſpital, he ſpake to the Jurats to find him out a Man, with whom he might bargain for the ſubſiſtence of the ſaid Hoſpital, and he would lay him down Money before-hand; but his Deſign, he ſaid, was to leave as few People there as he could, becauſe he believed the ill Air did them more hurt than their Malady it ſelf; and when he ſhould

ence be before *Saragoſa* or *Melazzo*, he would ſend them a League or two thence to take the Air, which would contribute more to their Health, than all the Remedies in the World. By this means he ſo well cajoled them, that they themſelves ſought him out the Man he deſired, to whom he gave two Months Advance for fifty poor Wretches, who had their Soul upon their Lips, and who were ſo far from being able to brook the Sea, that it was judged they could not ſo much as get to the Veſſel without certain Death. As for the others, they were imbarqued in a Veſſel by themſelves. So that this being done, the Duke *de la Feuillade* had nothing more to fear; for his Horſe were at *Auguſta*, all ready to imbarque, expecting only Veſſels for that purpoſe. In the mean time, there being fourteen Pieces of Cannon in Battery upon the Mouth of the Haven, he made his Veſſels go out thence into the Road, whither he himſelf alſo went, after he was got aboard the Admiral. Thence he ſent for the Jurats, to

whom

whom he had given the moſt ſpecious Orders in the World, of what they ſhould do in his abſence; and theſe over-credulous Jurats, imagining that he had forgot to tell them ſomething, haſted diligently aboard him, but were very much ſurprized to hear him ſpeak in theſe terms. *That it was now no longer time to diſguiſe any thing unto them, that the Expedition he was going to make, was to return into* France, *where the King his Maſter had need of his Troops and his Veſſels; that as long as he could aſſiſt them, he had done it with a great deal of Joy and Clemency, ſince it had coſt him above four and forty Millions; that now he could no longer do it, it was for them to find in their Conſtancy the Conſolation which perhaps he could not give them.*

A Complement ſo dry, and ſo little expected, caſt theſe poor People into a Deſpair, more eaſy to be conceived than deſcribed. They endeavoured to diſſuade him from his Deſign by the moſt moving Words imaginable, and by Actions alſo the moſt ſubmiſs, caſting themſelves many

ny times at his Knees; but seeing that all this operated nothing, they besought him, that he would at least delay his departure for eight days, to the end that during that time, those who could no longer hope for Mercy from the *Spaniards*, whom they had so mortally offended, might retire into *France* with their Families. A Prayer so just and so reasonable, ought not, methinks, to have been refused. But the Duke *de la Feuillade*, who gloried in being pitiless, told them, That this could not be, and that all he had to say to them was, That if those who would come, were not ready by the Morrow-Morning, he would weigh Anchor, and no longer expect any one. They gained however by the force of their Prayers one Day more; after which they went to declare this sorrowful News to the Inhabitants, who were in so terrible a despair thereat, that I do not believe the like was ever seen. All the Men, all the Women, all the Children came upon the Haven, piercing the Air with their Complaints, and

and tearing the Hair from their Heads; there was heard only a dreadful Groaning, whereunto ſucceeded a mournful Silence, as it were, to give the *French* time to make reflection on their Miſeries: but ſeeing, in fine, that they were not moved therewith, they began again the ſame Lamentations, with Poſtures ſo worthy of Pity, that I ſhall never, as long as I live, think thereon, without being touched with compaſſion. In fine, ſeeing that this operated no more than before, every one reſolved to embarque. and there were four hundred of the beſt and richeſt Families in the Town, which paſs'd into *France*, but with little ſatisfaction: For the *French* having ſoon after imputed to them a Conſpiracy in *Provence*, whether it were true, or only a pretence to get rid of them, made them go out of the Country, and they are gone to linger out their Miſeries in another Climate, where perhaps more compaſſion will be taken of their Misfortunes.

As

As for those that remained at *Messina*, their Punishment was very speedy: For the *French* had not yet weighed Anchor, when there arose in the Town a *Spanish Faction*, which had always subsisted therein, and which had several times endeavoured to reduce it under the obedience of its true Master. To this there opposed it self another, which would not hear speak of ever falling again under the Yoke of the *Spaniards*; and they were going to decide their Difference by compleating the Desolation of this Town, the Image whereof was already but too frightful, if the Governor of *Regio*, who was not above two Leagues off, had not stept in to hinder the Disorder. Whilst he was negotiating on the one and other side, to make them lay down their Arms, with Assurance of Pardon to both of them; the *Spaniards*, having by the help of their Faction made themselves Masters of the Town, entred thereinto with Drums beating, breathing forth no but a just Vengeance, but which they ren-

rendred too cruel by their manner of taking it; for without demurring any farther, as many People as put their Heads out of the Windows to see them pass, so many did they kill, at least of those who appeared to be any thing, aiming particularly at Persons of Quality.

I will not undertake to tell how many Massacres they made in this poor desolate Town, nor how much they thereby augmented the Aversion the People already had for them: for, besides that I should perhaps have difficulty enough to do it, things were carried to such extremities, it belongs not to my Subject, whereunto I should do much better to return, without digressing any farther.

The abandoning of *Messina*, joined to the Inclination which the King of *England* always had for *France*, brought again upon the Board the Propositions of Peace, which had already been talk'd of before, but that the *Spaniards* would never hearken to them, because the *French* King spake not of restoring *Messina*. When I

speak

ſpeak here of Propoſitions of Peace, it is eaſily underſtood that I will ſpeak of what paſs'd in the Cabinet of Princes, and not of what paſs'd at *Cologne* or *Nimeguen*, where they had already waſted ſo long time to no purpoſe. Theſe Propoſitions did not equally pleaſe every Body: For altho the Emperor and Princes of the Empire, had done nothing yet ſo advantagious, but that a good Peace was to be preferr'd before ſo unprofitable a War, ſince nevertheleſs they conſidered, that in the condition wherein things were, they could not hope for ſuch an one as they deſired, and as was to be wiſh'd for the Good of *Europe*, they were rather of opinion to continue the War, than to do any thing whereof they might for the future repent. The Prince of *Orange* added thereunto, That ſince it was not eaſy to reaſſemble, when once they ſhould be ſeparated, they ought to take good care not to do it, without knowing how and upon what terms. But the *Hollanders*, who in the Party of the Confederates had

the

the Power which the Jeſuits attribute to the Pope, that is, of binding and looſing, ſaid on the contrary, That for their part they were weary of the War: and as they had not the Keys of the Apoſtle, but the Keys of the Cheſt, my meaning is, that they provided for the Appointment, they ſaid in two words, That they muſt treat, otherwiſe that they had not wherewithal to furniſh out ſo great Expences.

This was a determinate Sentence to the greateſt part of the Confederates, every one thought then only of making his Treaty the moſt advantagious he could. But as this was all that *France* deſired, to wit, to diſunite them, ſhe took care only to content the *Hollanders*, in whom conſiſted all the Strength of the Party. To this two things might much contribute: the one, to reſtore unto them the Town of *Maeſtricht*, which they had in vain endeavoured to recover by Arms; the other, to give them ſome aſſurance that the Peace ſhould be durable, and not ſubject to be broken.

broken on the first occasion. As to the former, *France* did not at all hesitate; she promised at first the Restitution of *Maestricht*, which gave the *Hollanders* more desire than ever to terminate the War, for they saw their Frontiers thereby assured, as well as their State in its first Splendor. For the other, she procured the King of *England* to intervene, who promised to be Guarant of the Peace. And to give a great Idea of its Duration, there were Propositions made in respect of *Spain*, to whom she offered to restore certain Places, which were to serve for a Barrier, as well to her as to the *Hollanders*, who by this means saw that *France* removed yet farther from their Neighbourhood, which was all they had to desire, not loving so dangerous a Neighbour. The *Hollanders*, before they accepted of these Conditions, did all they could, being deceived by Appearances, to make them be accepted also by their Allies; but seeing that they were obstinate not to do any thing therein, they

they made their Peace apart, imagining well, as the truth was, that this would soon oblige them to speak otherwise. In the mean time, they sent to the Prince of *Orange*, who was gone towards *Mons*, which the *French* had a long time block'd up, and which was very much straitned, to draw back his Troops. But whether this Prince received not their Pacquets time enough, or whether he were in despair to see that they had let themselves be deceived by the Artifices of the *French*, he gave them Battel, believing perhaps to make the States change their Design, by doing some Action of great Eclat. This Fight was obstinate enough; but after the Prince of *Orange* had forced the *French*, and gained a notable Advantage over them, he caused the Peace to be published, rather not to appear disobedient to the Orders of the Republick, than for any reason he had to hope for any good from it.

This Peace was followed by that of the *Spaniards*, the Emperor, and the King of *Denmark*; but the Marques

queſs of *Brandenburg*, finding that, according as his Accommodation had been propoſed, it was wholly diſadvantagious to him, refuſed to ſign it: and this Refuſal having obliged *France* to carry her Arms as far as *Mindem*, where there was ſome Skirmiſh to hinder the Paſſage of the River, the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg* was fain to bend, but with little ſatisfaction to *Suedeland*, on whoſe behalf the *French* had nevertheleſs undertaken this War: For tho all the Princes reſtored her a great part of what they had gotten from her, yet ſince they ſtill kept ſomething, ſhe imagined that all that *France* did for her, was nothing in compariſon of what ſhe ought to do, conſidering the Perils whereunto ſhe had expoſed her ſelf, and even the Loſſes ſhe had ſuffered for her ſake: In effect, for having been willing at her ſuſcitation to make a Diverſion in *Germany*, ſhe had loſt the greateſt part of her Veſſels, the Eſteem of her Neighbours, her Riches, her Reputation, and in one word, was reduced to ſo bad a Con-

Condition, that if the War had continued any longer, it would have been impossible to say what would become of her Fortune.

This first Discontent of *Suedeland*, was soon followed by two others, whereof one touched her Interest, and the other her Honour. The first was the Homage, which *France* demanded of her for the Dutchy of *Deuxponts*, by virtue of a Decree of the Royal Chamber of *Metz*, at this day so known and renowned in all *Europe*. The second was, the Refusal she made to pay her the Subsidies she owed her of old, if she did not first consent to renew the Treaty which was between the two Crowns, and was very near expiring.

When the *Hollanders* saw that the *French* King was already preparing to make new Alliances, they began on their side to think of securing themselves from his Enterprises. For this purpose they proposed a League with the neighbouring Princes, whereof the King having knowledg, was so offended thereat, that tho he would him-

himself have subjected the *South* to what I just now told you, he failed not to command the Count *d'Avaux*, his Ambassador at the *Hague*, to tell the States, That if they prosecuted any further the Treaty they had begun, he should take it for an Act of Hostility, and should see what he had to do. These Menaces were odious to all honest Persons, but they were so far from being frighted by them in *Holland*, that on the contrary they made haste to conclude the Treaty, and to defend their Liberty by Arms, which they resolved alone no more to lay down but upon good Terms, if the King obliged them to take them up again, whereof they were nevertheless in expectation every day, till the Siege of *Vienna* was raised, which will perhaps make him think twice upon what he hath to do.

However it be, the Haughtiness wherewith he acted towards Sovereign Powers, giving cause to fear every thing from his Ambition, *Sweden* made also a League with

*Holland*,

*Holland*, by which they promiſed one another reciprocal Aſſiſtance. The King of *France* ſeeing that *Suedeland* had declared againſt him, was interiorly vexed thereat; but without letting it be ſeen, he ſollicits the King of *Denmark*, and the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, the ancient Enemies of the *Suede*, to enter into League with him, wherein he found not much difficulty; for theſe two Princes were ſo ill contented with the laſt Peace they were obliged to make, that they would not hear ſpeak of allying themſelves any more with Princes, who had ſo ſhamefully, as we may ſay, abandoned them. This was the reaſon that the Miniſters of the Emperor, who pretended not only to oppoſe this Alliance, but alſo to make one with theſe two Princes, were ſo little hearkned unto. Add hereunto, that their Intereſts ſufficiently accorded with their Reſentment; for as to *Denmark*, he never entred into any League wherein the *Suede* was; and there is as great an Antipathy between thoſe two Crowns, as

there can be between *France* and *Spain*.

As for *Brandenburg*, he has for a long time alſo had a Pique at the *Suede*, ever ſince the great *Guſtavus* got from him. *Pomerania*, which he had nevertheleſs reconquered with ſo much Glory during theſe laſt Wars, but was not happy enough to keep it, and that, as I have ſaid, for having been abandoned by his Allies.

This Seed of War was ſoon followed by Hoſtilities, much more apparent on the ſide of *France*. All on a ſudden, and when they leaſt thought of it, ſhe ſeized on the Town of *Strasburg*; and when the Emperor thought to make his Complaints thereof by the Count *de Mansfield*, whom he ſent expreſly to St. *Germain en Laye*, ſhe anſwered the Count *de Mansfield*, That ſhe wondred the Emperor ſhould meddle with that which nothing concerned her; that *Strasburg* was one of the Dependencies of *Alſatia*, and conſequently belonged to her by virtue of the Treaty of

of *Munſter*. If the Emperor had been well counſelled, not only then, but a long time before, this Misfortune would not perhaps have befallen all *Germany*: for he had already ſuffered but too much from *France*, who by virtue of a certain Right of Dependence, which ſhe had ſet up to invade the Eſtates of every one, ruined both Princes and Gentlemen; theſe of their Goods, by putting Garriſons upon them; thoſe of their Honour, by depriving them of all Right of Sovereignty. But it was in vain for them to complain to him thereof; he had rather believe his Miniſters, or, to ſay better, his Jeſuits, than his Dignity, which would not permit him to ſuffer ſuch an Affront without reſenting it. He had remitted all this to the Diet; and the Diet, inſtead of ſpeedily determining things, as the Nature of the Affair required, ſpun them out in length, as if they had themſelves been of accord with the Enemies of the Empire.

A Proceeding ſo feeble on all ſides, gave *France* in the mean time oppor-

unity to make new Enterprises, and not content with having entrenched on the Liberty of *Germany*, he encroached also on that of *Italy*, which began to tremble, seeing her Troops in *Casal*. The *Spaniard*, who had hitherto been Spectators of all that passed in *Germany*, began then to make a great stir, so much the more, as that *France* had besieged the Town of *Luxemburg*, under pretext also of that Right of Dependence, whereof I just now spake. They moved Heaven and Earth to stir up the Potentates to cause Justice to be done them; but every one was as deaf, as if they had been hired by *France* to conspire with her in all she did. In fine, the House of *Austria*, as well that which is in *Spain*, as that which is in *Germany*, rouzed up it self, and seeing that the *French* had not yet fortified *Casal* nor *Strasburg*, they resolved to make some Attempt upon these two Places, before new Works and a stronger Garrison rendred the thing more difficult. *France*, seeing that the Troops of the Emperor

peror drew near to *Strasburg*, and that those of *Milan* took the way of *Casal*, drew back at the same time hers from before *Luxemburg*, and made them march towards the Frontiers. This Motion hindred the House of *Austria* from attempting any thing: but *France* would not acknowledg why she had raised the Siege; on the contrary, she published that it was only through Generosity, the *Turks* being ready to make a descent into *Hungary*, whereinto nevertheless they entred not till above a year after.

The Blocking up of *Luxemburg*, bed furnished abundance of People farther matter of Discourse. Honest Persons amongst the *French*, as well as other Nations, could not themselves sufficiently admire, that in the midst of a profound Peace, there should thus be so many Hostilities committed. But that which gave some occasion, as we may say, to weep, made others laugh, seeing they had not the courage to oppose it. In the mean time, *France* had no

ſooner what ſhe demanded, but ſhe would have ſomething more. And like herein to thoſe Perſons, who after they have a long time faſted, are not contented with a little nouriſhment; ſo was not ſhe contented to have thus one Place or two at a time, but ſhe wanted a whole World to ſatisfy her Ambition. But ſince ſhe had proved in the laſt War, that ſhe ſhould hardly bring it about by force, ſhe reſolved to make uſe of Addreſs, a Means much leſs dangerous, and often more efficacious. Now to pretend that this ſhould be by dividing the Princes of *Germany*, beſides that it was a thing which would require long time, and was moreover ſubject to change, becauſe tho they might be deceived, yet not ſo far as to ſuffer themſelves to be utterly ruined, there was nothing ſure therein, every one being in diſtruſt. To ſhorten therefore the matter, ſhe reſolved to bring the *Turk* into *Germany*, hoping that the Empire, ſeeing it ſelf menaced by ſo redoubted an Enemy, would never fail to call him to its Aſſiſtance,

not having Forces of its own to re-ſiſt ſuch a Power. *Guilleragues*, her Ambaſſador, who had ſo many Diſputes with the Grand-Viſier touching the Affair of *Scio*, having received her Orders, believed it was a means for him to gain a good Eſteem with the Port, which, like *France*, deſired only to invade the Eſtates of others.

In effect, the Grand-Viſier, who ſince his advancement to that Office, had done nothing to make himſelf talk'd of, and who was very glad to bring himſelf into Eſteem, received the Propoſition ſo much the more agreeably, as he imagined the thing to be eaſy, after the manner that *Guilleragues* propoſed it unto him: For this Ambaſſador promiſed, that as ſoon as he ſhould be entred into *Hungary*, the King his Maſter ſhould make Diverſion on the ſide of the *Rhine*, the Grand-Viſier knowing the Forces of *France*, no way doubted but that the Empire, being thus attack'd on two ſides by two ſuch conſiderable Powers, would in a ſhort time be

brought to yield. *Teckely*, chief of the Malecontents of *Hungary*, with whom *France* held correſpondence from the beginning of his Revolt, aſſured the Grand-Viſier of the ſame thing; for ſhe cauſed the ſame Diſcourſes to be made to him, as to the Grand-Viſier: but ſhe deceived them both; and ſince, whatever Ambition ſhe had, ſhe endeavoured not to loſe her Reputation amongſt the neighbouring Princes, ſhe ſought only to bring the Empire ſo low, that it could never riſe again but by her means.

The Grand-Viſier being ſo well animated to this Enterprize, cauſed ſuch terrible Preparations to be made in all the *Ottoman* Empire, that not only the Emperor was alarmed thereat, but alſo all *Italy*, which extremely apprehended leſt this great Storm ſhould pour down upon her. The Pope excited all the Chriſtian Princes to give help againſt this common Enemy of Chriſtendom: but knowing enough the State of the Court of *France*, to believe that there was no-

thing to be expected from that side, he sent a Brief to the King, by which he exhorted him, that in case his Interests permitted him not to assist the Emperor himself, he would at least not hinder other Princes from assisting him. And for to give Example to others, he sollicited the Court of *Rome* to contribute with him to the making up a good Sum of Money, which he sent to the Emperor as soon as ever he could no longer doubt that it was against him that such extraordinary Preparations were made.

In the mean time *France*, to make a shew of dealing sincerely with the Grand-Visier, caused her Troops to advance to the Frontiers, which did not much less astonish the Empire, than all the Preparations made against it by the *Turk*. The Diet, whereof I spake before, thought it expedient, seeing the Arms of two such great Princes so ready to trouble the Repose of all *Germany*, to make the King explain his Design, and caused his Ambassador to write unto him for that purpose: But the King,

who cared not to declare his thoughts, anſwered, That he was not to give account of his Actions to any one; but that he would however tell them, that it was for them to give him ſpeedy ſatisfaction upon all his Pretenſions, otherwiſe he ſhould take ſuch courſe as himſelf thought beſt. In effect, not content with having deſpoiled ſo many Princes of their Liberty, with having invaded *Strasburg*, and the ten Free-Towns, contrary to the Faith of Treaties, with retaining the Eſtates of the Princes of *Petite Pierre* and *Waldens*, without any appearance of Juſtice; and ſo many other things, which would be too long to particularize; he would alſo have the Diet to declare, that whatever he had done was according to the Rules of Equity, and the Emperor himſelf muſt ſubſcribe this Declaration. Thus would he eſtabliſh by the Right of Nations, what he had uſurped only by Right of Convenience, and would have a Treaty to cover his Faith-breaking and Injuſtice. For my part, I ſhall not

not blame thoſe of the Diet, who counſelled the Emperor to yield to the Time, to accommodate himſelf with *France*, which in the condition wherein things then were, was capable to do him a great deal of Miſchief, and in fine, not to loſe the Empire by unſeaſonable Stiffneſs; becauſe I will believe that what they did was out of a good deſign. But the Emperor, all beſet as he was with the Emiſſaries of *France*, was not yet ſo deprived of his Underſtanding, but that he eaſily diſcerned whither ſuch a Step as this tended, which by diſcrediting him in the Empire, would have as much raiſed the Credit of the King of *France*, who deſired only to enter thereinto like a Fox, but would afterwards have kept himſelf there like a Lion. In effect, he no ſooner ſaw the *Turks* in *Hungary*, but believing them now too far advanced to go back again, he retired from his Troops, at the Head whereof he had put himſelf under pretence of a Review, to create the greater Jealouſy.

In

In the mean time, he cauſed the Electors, a good part of which were his Friends, to be told underhand, that they ought to call him to the aſſiſtance of the Empire, which was in danger of falling down under the Power of the *Turk*, if it were not ſupported by Forces capable to reſiſt him. But on the other ſide, he excited the Grand-Viſier to go ſtreight to *Vienna*, without ſtaying either at *Raab* or *Comorra*, adding, That theſe Places would fall of themſelves, as ſoon as ever he ſhould make himſelf Maſter of the other, which would draw alſo with it the Ruine of the whole Empire, and the Conſternation of all the Electors. Altho the Grand-Viſier diſtruſted the Sincerity of *France*, of whoſe Deſigns he every day learnt ſomething; yet he believed however that this Counſel could not be amiſs: and reſolving to follow it, after he had terribly waſted the Country, he ſent Detachments from under his Conduct, to block up theſe two Places ſo cloſe, that their Garriſons might not incommode the Con-

Convoys which came to his Army.

He marched afterwards on the ſide of the *Danube*, having already paſs'd the *Raab*, by Intelligence with the *Hungarians*, to whom the Defence thereof had been committed, and came to plant his Camp before *Vienna*, to the great aſtoniſhment of Chriſtendom, and eſpecially of the Emperor, who was obliged to retire to *Linz*, whither the Jeſuits would follow him, as faithful Companions of his Fortune. In the mean time, they not having been able to find Conveniences to depart all the ſame day, ſome of them were by the People immolated to their juſt Reſentment, as they pretended to follow their Fellows. They ſent them to keep company with the three *Hungarian* Barons, whom they had ſome time ſince cauſed to be put to death through Covetouſneſs of their Eſtates, upon which the inferior People laid the Cauſe of the War, altho it had indeed another Original, as I think I have demonſtrated. In effect, beſides all that I have already ſaid, to

ſhew

ſhew the Intelligence which the King of *France* held with the *Turk*, there happened a thing which no longer left any room to doubt it: For the Letters of one of her Miniſters Secretary were ſurprized, by which all the Intrigue was diſcovered; ſo that the Emperor having cauſed him to be arreſted, was reſolved to puniſh him ſeverely: but underſtanding that *France* had on her ſide arreſted the Secretary of the Ambaſſador the Count *de Mansfield*, whom ſhe threatned to treat in the ſame manner as the Emperor ſhould do the other, he durſt not puſh things any farther, but was contented with threatning him ſeverely, ſo to diſcover how far this Intelligence extended.

Moreover; Whether *France* expected to take great Reſolutions upon what ſhould paſs at the Siege, or whether ſhe were only willing to be the firſt that ſhould know in what manner it would turn, the Marqueſs *de Seppeville*, her Envoy at the Emperor's Court, had Order to diſpatch Couri-

Couriers unto her upon the leaſt Circumſtances, which nevertheleſs ſufficiently teſtified, that it was ſomething more than Curioſity which made her act. There came to her three in one Week, and Foreign Miniſters learnt nothing but by her means. But ſhe continually miſrepreſented things: for at firſt there ran a Report at *Paris*, that *Vienna* was already loſt, which ſhe was above all very deſirous to inſinuate into the Miniſters of other Princes, whom, without making ſhew of any thing, ſhe cauſed in the mean time to be founded, to know whereon their Maſters would determine, in caſe this News ſhould be found true.

I could here, if I would, relate abundance of memorable Actions that paſt at this Siege, whereof I have as good Memoirs as any other; but ſince in matter of War I never concern my ſelf to ſpeak, but of thoſe things where I have been preſent, I ſhall forbear to do it, contenting my ſelf to relate here thoſe which concern my Subject, to wit, thoſe where-

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in reigns the Infincerity of *France*, to the end that every one may take heed thereof. I am, moreover, going to ſurprize abundance of People, by ſaying, that her Deſign was not at firſt that the *Turks* ſhould ſeize on *Vienna*; but let every one believe what he will, this ſhall not hinder me from continuing to ſpeak the Truth, making above all things profeſſion to do it, without ſuffering my ſelf to be diverted from it by ought whatever. Now to prove my Aſſertion, there needs only to know the Offers ſhe had made, and ſtill every day did make to the Emperor, to ſend fifty thouſand Men to raiſe the Siege; the Efforts ſhe made with the Electors, to incline the Emperor to accept this Succour; the ſecret Reflections ſhe prayed them to make on the State wherein the Empire was, and on the Neceſſity it had to be aſſiſted, not only powerfully, but alſo ſpeedily; that the Forces of *Poland* were neither yet aſſembled, nor aſſembling; that beſides, they were not ſuch Troop as they imagined, that it was rather

rather an Arrierban than an Army; that the Great Men of the Country were not all ſo contented, as they were ſaid to be, with the Alliance which the King of *Poland* had made with the Emperor; and in fine, that they would bring ſo many Obſtacles to the Succour which the Emperor thought to draw from thence, that they might indeed always talk of it, but ſhould never ſee it come: That, on the contrary, that of *France* being quite ready, would march at the firſt Command; that the *French* were as good as the *Polanders* at Handy-Strokes, which this occaſion required; that they had beſides more Obedience and Experience, two things ſo neceſſary for the having an happy Succeſs in their Enterprizes.

Certainly all theſe Reaſons were ſpecious to him that ſhould not have been prepoſſeſt of her Unfaithfulneſs. But ſince all the Reſiſtance which was made at *Vienna*, was to no other end, but not to ſee the Empire fall into the hands of another, it was believed that

that all theſe Offers were rather to be rejected than accepted. In the mean time, they prayed the *French* King, ſince he had ſuch good Deſigns, that he would remove his Troops from the Frontiers, the Jealouſy whereof hindred abundance of the Princes of the Empire from ſending theirs to the aſſiſtance of *Vienna*. But he anſwered, That if they let the Empire be loſt through their default, he would ſave it tho againſt their Wills; that he would keep himſelf always armed, and ready to aſſiſt them at the firſt Requeſt they ſhould make him; that he gave them his Word he would attempt nothing againſt the Empire, and that his Word ought to ſuffice them. But what reliance could there be upon a Word which had been ſo often violated, as I think I have ſhewn? Upon a Word, of the Frailty whereof there were ſo many Examples, and which, to excuſe it ſelf, ſtill ſought Pretences to caſt upon others the Faults whereof it was it ſelf only guilty? Upon a Word, in fine, which acknowledged no other

Law

Law but Force and Violence, which would have every thing paſs according to its own Will; which would have all bend under it, Sovereign Princes, and thoſe that were not ſo; but which never wanted Pretences to palliate whatever it did, were one but never ſo little in the humor to let ones ſelf be ſeduced by its deluſory Perſuaſions?

Theſe Conſiderations, which had obliged the Emperor to refuſe ſo great a Succour, obliged alſo the other Princes to believe, that it was neither the Empires Intereſt nor their own to preſs the Emperor to accept it. Thus every one being in ſuſpenſe, the Grand-Viſier made a terrible Ravage in all *Auſtria*, where he found not any Reſiſtance: and tho the *French* King was not entered into *Germany*, as he had promiſed, he ceaſed not to make a great Diverſion, as I juſt now ſaid, no-body daring to ſend away their Troops, for fear thoſe of *France* ſhould invade what they ſhould find for their convenience.

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Many Perſons were thus led away into Captivity by the Infidels, who before their beſieging *Vienna* had detached the *Tartars*, to come and make their Courſes as far as the Gates of that Town. Theſe Barbarians ſet fire where-ever they paſſed, pillaged the Caſtle of *Laxembourg*, and after they had carried away all the Goods that were therein, cut down alſo the Trees of the Avenues, through deſpite (as it were) for not having found therein all the Riches they expected: from thence they retired to their Body, leaving in all the Places of their Paſſage, Marks of their Barbarity and Cruelty.

Theſe Beginnings of the Siege of *Vienna* were happy enough to the Infidels; for all Places being yet fill'd with their Cruelties, and they having beſides gained ſome Advantages over the Troops of the Duke of *Lorrain*, General of the Emperor's Army, the Garriſon, the greateſt part whereof was compoſed of that Army, ſeemed apprehenſive of coming to Blows with

with them. This exceedingly troubled the Governour, the Count *de Starenberg*, who had resolved to keep the Town for the Emperor, or at least to lose his Life upon the Breach; but he having found the means to rid them of all Fear, yet more through his own Example, than through any thing he could say to them, things soon changed their Face, and as much as the Imperialists were before apprehensive of the *Turks*, so much did the *Turks* then begin to be apprehensive of the Imperialists, who had daily some Advantage in every Sally. The Grand-Visier was not however rebutted, but thought it strange that *France*, having promised him to make a puissant Diversion, should content her self only to look on, without keeping her Word. He complained thereof to *Tekely*, with whom he held Communication by Letters; and *Tekely* to *Bohan*, who was *France*'s Correspondent with him. *Bohan* failed not on his side to make his Complaint to Mr. *de Seppeville*, to whom he sent word, That the Grand-Visier,

Viſier, uncertain of the Sieges Succeſs, might perhaps come to an Agreement with the Imperialiſts; that it was for him to foreſee the Prejudice which ſuch a Treaty might bring to the Crown, and to apply the Remedy he ſhould judg convenient; but for his own part, he thought there was no other choice, but either to keep their Word, or by not keeping it, to reſolve upon a Quarrel with the Grand-Viſier.

*France* having knowledg of theſe things by a Courier which the Marqueſs *de Seppeville* diſpatched to her, and which arrived at *Fontainbleau* on Sunday the 29*th* of *Auguſt*, found her ſelf very much embaraſſed, how to make her Politicks agree with ſo preſſing a Demand. It was not many days ſince ſhe had given her Word not to attack the Empire; and conſidering, that if ſhe ſhould ſo ſoon break it without any cauſe, or even ſo much as pretence, ſhe ſhould not only draw upon her ſelf the Reproaches of all *Europe*, but ſhould alſo for

for ever loſe the Confidence of the Electors, whom ſhe managed with a great deal of care, ſhe took a Reſolution which ſeemed to her capable to ſatisfy both the one and the other Party; that is to ſay, Not to attack the Empire directly, for fear of loſing her Reputation with the Electors; but to carry her Arms into *Flanders*, which ought in ſome ſort to ſatisfy the Grand-Viſier, becauſe this War had ſo great a Concatenation with all the neighbouring Powers, that it would ſoon put a good part of *Europe* in combuſtion.

In the mean time, it befell her, as it ordinarily doth thoſe who will pleaſe two Perſons at a time, that is, that ſhe neither pleaſed the Grand-Viſier, nor the Electors. For theſe, whom the King had endeavoured to perſuade, as he had done alſo all *Europe*, that his riſing up from before *Luxemburg*, whereof I ere-while ſpake, was becauſe of the Deſcent of the *Turks* into *Hungary*, thought it ſtrange that this Reaſon, which was then

then ſo remote from Danger, ſhould no longer ſubſiſt now when the Danger was ſo near. The Grand-Viſier, on the other ſide, did not like, that all theſe great Promiſes terminated in making Spoil amongſt People, Allies indeed of the Empire, but yet ſo remote from it, whereas he deſired that all theſe Hoſtilities ſhould have been committed in the Center thereof. But *France*, who cared little for the Ends of either of them, provided ſhe might attain her own, let them ſay what they pleaſed, flattering her ſelf, that in reſpect of the *Turks* ſhe had ſufficiently ſatisfied the Engagement ſhe had with them, by attacking *Flanders*, which makes part of *Low-Germany*; and for what concerns the Electors, they had no reaſon to complain, becauſe ſhe had kept her ſelf within her Promiſe, which was only not to attack the Emperor, or Princes of the Empire. She believed moreover, that this Proceeding of hers terrifying *Spain*, and her Allies, in regard of the preſent Conjuncture, they would all conſpire,

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as diligently as they possibly could, to cause the Town of *Luxemburg* to be given her, for fear she should make greater Conquests, whereof they were apprehensive in the Conditions wherein things were, and the Arms of the most part of the neighbouring Princes being employed, as they were, either in combating the *Turk*, or only observing him.

In the mean time, the *Hollanders*, whom it greatly concerned not to suffer this Crown to make thus every day new Attempts upon *Flanders*, the Loss whereof drew along that of their Provinces, assembled amongst themselves, to see what Remedy they might bring thereunto. To which they were moreover every day excited by Mr. *de Fuen-Maior*, Envoy of *Spain*, who spake so plainly of the King his Master's Inability to defend that Country, that he ingenuously confest unto them, that it could no longer be preserved without their Assistance. Many of the *Hollanders* concluded at first upon War, and

they were without doubt the moſt illuminated; but others, Lovers of Repoſe, and beſides more attached to Commerce, having made uſe of the Pretence of the preſent Conjunctures, for to render them apprehenſive of breaking Peace with ſo powerful a Crown, ſaid, that their Opinion was to bring Matters to an Accommodation. This Diverſity of Opinions delayed their Reſolution for ten or twelve days, during which they every day endeavoured to open the Eyes of thoſe that were blinded, hoping beſides that *Vienna* would be relieved, which would perhaps have drawn their Minds to do that which was convenient for the Glory and Intereſt of the State. But this News not coming, and they receiving on the contrary from day to day advice, that the Grand-Viſier was obſtinate to continue the Siege, cauſed his Camp to be wonderfully fortified, and in fine, prepared himſelf to fight the Relief, if any came, the States no longer expected that time to reſolve; but the well-intention'd having

ving made the others at last to take Resolutions worthy of their Courage, they determined to succour poor afflicted *Flanders*, by sending her eight thousand Men to put in her Places, and making a far greater Number to march, if Necessity required it.

This Resolution being taken, they sent Order to the Officers to leave their Garrisons, and march towards the Frontiers; and the Troops which were to pass into *Flanders*, pass'd thither, and the others entred into those Places of *Brabant* which belonged to the *Hollanders*, as being more exposed to the Enterprizes of *France*, which they knew not yet whether to treat as a Friend or an Enemy; for she caused every day the States to be told by her Ambassador, that her design was not to break with any one, but to cause Justice to be done her concerning the County of *Alost*, which she pretended to be of the Dependencies of what had been granted her by the Treaty of *Nimeguen*. In the mean time, they still expected

with impatience the Succeſs of the Succour which was preparing for *Vienna*, and *France* her ſelf alſo expected the ſame, for to take openly her Reſolutions upon what ſhould arrive there; but at laſt, after a long expectation, they learnt that this Succeſs was as glorious as the Chriſtians could deſire, the Grand-Viſier's Infantry being totally routed, their Cavalry very much endammaged, all their Cannon and Baggage loſt; in fine, the Place ſuccoured; with a thouſand other remarkable Circumſtances, which it would be too long to particularize.

This great News, which was confirmed by a Courier, whom the Prince *de Waldeck* diſpatcht expreſly to the Prince of *Orange*, put at firſt all the Officers of War, who deſired only matter to employ their Valour, into unimaginable Tranſports of Joy. Every one figured to himſelf all *Europe* reunited againſt *France*; they repreſented to themſelves with pleaſure ſo many Outrages revenged, ſo many

many Attempts happily executed, ſo many unfortunate Princes reeſtabliſht in their Eſtates; and in fine, every one in particular built himſelf a Fortune according to the Grandeur of his Courage; when all of a ſudden, they fell from a great Hope to a juſt Apprehenſion, that this great Succeſs would bring rather Peace than War. Thoſe who were of this Sentiment, alledged for their Reaſons, That Peace not being yet made with the *Turk*, none would refuſe to treat, if *France* departed from her Pretenſions, which it was to be preſumed ſhe would do in the Fear ſhe ought to have, leſt, this Peace being made, all *Europe* ſhou'd fall upon her: that one Mark of her having been always willing to reſerve to her ſelf this Back-door, is, that ſhe had not yet attempted any thing, altho it were near a Month ſince ſhe entred into *Flanders*: that the *Hollanders*, who were as it were the Soul of all the Party, would not have War, unleſs they were obliged thereunto by indiſpenſible Neceſſity; and that they

ſhould no ſooner ſee an Opportunity of being able to continue in repoſe, but they would embrace it with pleaſure: that the others could do nothing without them: and that, in one word, the common Intereſt of Chriſtendom ſet aſide, it had been more advantagious for them that *Vienna* had been taken than relieved.

Theſe Reaſons were indeed ſtrong; but there were oppoſed unto them others, which were no leſs ſtrong: For hereunto it was anſwered, That altho Peace were not yet made with the *Turk*, there was nevertheleſs all reaſon to believe that it would inceſſantly be made, it having been the Policy of the *Turks* to treat as ſoon as ever they were once beaten: That if the *French* had not yet attempted any thing, it was not ſo much to expect what would arrive from *Vienna*, as to leave ſome impreſſion of their Moderation, pretending thereby, that *Vienna* being taken, the Empire, whereof they aimed to make themſelves Maſters, would call them in to its

its Assistance, which would facilitate the means of their accomplishing their Designs: That now they were fallen from all these Pretensions, there was nothing more left them but to assert their Claim by Arms, which they were too glorious not to do: That the *Hollanders*, of whose Courage they seemed willing to enter into distrust, had reason to complain, that after having alone, as they had done, embraced the Defence of *Flanders*, they should be thought to be such slender Politicians, as not to lay hold of an Occasion which was so favourable to them, to make a Crown, whose Neighbourhood they ought so much to apprehend, to give up what he had swallowed: That, in fine, they were too wise, and too illuminated, not to see, that altho *France* should even incline to some Peace, it would be only a daubed-up Peace, such as have been those she has made these fifteen or twenty Years.

It remains now to examine which of these two seemed to have the greater

greater Reaſon, but methinks it is not very difficult to conclude in behalf of the latter: For altho there be nothing to be added to their Reaſons, I ſhall ſay however, that the *Spaniards*, who would eaſily have yielded to any Conditions of Peace in caſe *Vienna* had been taken, will now grow ſtiff, ſince they hope to be ſupported by *Germany*, which on her ſide will be very glad, after ſhe ſhall have made Peace with the *Turk*, to free her ſelf from the *French* Domination. However it be, the Victory which the Chriſtians have gained, cannot but have good Effects; for whether we have Peace or War, we ought to hope for an happy Iſſue, and that one way or other we ſhall find means to mortify a Crown, which begins a little too much to miſ-underſtand it ſelf.

*FINIS.*